

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + Refrain from automated querying Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/

B 1,319,837

ENGLISH CLASSICS



Iniversity of Michigan
Libraries

ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

William BMc Colly

•

•

,

1MBRIDGE ENGLISH CLASSICS

English Works
of
Roger Ascham

ROGER ASCHAM

Born 1515 Died 1568

ROGER ASCHAM

ENGLISH WORKS

TOXOPHILUS
REPORT OF THE AFFAIRES AND STATE OF GERMANY
THE SCHOLEMASTER

WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.,
VICE-MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE



CAMBRIDGE: at the University Press 1904



シーク

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AVE MARIA LANE.

Slanguin: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.



Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.

Acto Hork: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., Ltd.

6. L.
Prof. W. McColly
7-16-64
13-37716. PREFACE.

F the three English Works by Ascham printed in this volume, the Toxophilus is probably the only one which appeared in his lifetime. It was first published in 1545 by Edward Whitchurch. A second edition printed by Thomas Marshe appeared in 1571, and a third in 1589 printed by Abell Ieffes. As copies of the first edition vary slightly, it is as well to state that I have followed one in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge, for which I have been indebted to the kindness of Mr Arthur Gray, with occasional reference to the Capell copy in Trinity Library. There are some readings in one of the copies in the British Museum (C. 31. c. 27) which I have found nowhere else. Mr Arber in his reprint appears to have followed this.

The Report and Discourse of the affairs and state of Germany was written in 1553, about the time of the death of Edward the Sixth (see p. 138), but it was apparently not printed till after Ascham's death by John Daye, without date but probably about 1570. In Bohn's edition of Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual it is said that 'there are two other editions, one 1570, the other without date,' but I can find no other record of them. In the Dictionary of National Biography it is said to have been republished in 1572, but I do not know on what authority.

The Scholemaster first appeared in 1570, two years after Ascham's death, and was printed by John Daye. A second edition, also printed by Daye, was issued in 1571, and a third in 1589, printed by Abell Ieffes. Other editions in 1572, 1573, 1579, and 1583, 'according to the bibliographers,' are mentioned in the Dictionary of National Biography. I have not been able to discover any trace of them, except that in the edition of 1571, although 1571 is on the title-page, we find 1573 in the colophon.

In giving the list of Errata in the early copies, I have not thought it necessary to record any but those which are misleading, nor have I mentioned the many printer's errors in Greek which have been silently corrected. On pages 72 and 168 I have substituted 'leste' for 'lesse,' supposing it to be a misprint, but not feeling certain that it might not be a provincialism if not an archaism, I have allowed 'lesse' to stand on pages 215 and 258, though it is altered in the edition of 1571. In the curious Italian Pasquinade in the Report (p. 136) I have been assisted by the kindness of Count della Rocchetta, Mr Arthur Tilley, and Mr E. G. W. Braunholtz, to whom are due the corrections which have brought it to its present form. It originally stood as follows:

Interlocutori Pasquillo et Romano.

Pasq. H Anno un bel gioco il Re, et l'Imperatore per terzo el Papa, e giocano à Primera.

Rom. che v' e d' in vito? Pasq. Italia tutta intera. Rom. Chi vi l' ha messa? Pasq. il coglion del pastore.

Rom. Che tien in mano il Re? Pasq. Ponto magiere

el Papa hacinquant' uno, e se despera.

Rom. Cæsar che Ponto sa? Pasq. lui sta a Primera Rom. che gli manca? Pasq. danari a far sauore

Il Papa dice à vol, e voll Partito:
Cæsar Pensoso sta Sopra di questo,
teme à Scropir di trouar moneta
Il Re dico, no, no, Scoprite Presto,
che io tengo Ponto, a guadagnar l' in vito
l' ho li danari, et Cæsar se gli aspeta.

¶ Tutti stanno a vedetta.

Chi di tor dui guadagni. Rom. il Papa? Pas. e fuora vinca chi vol, lui Perda, in sua mal' hora.

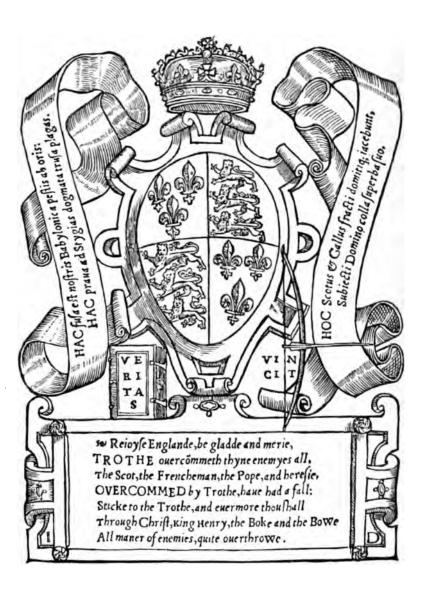
¶ Le Jmperatore anchora.

Teme, êtien stretto, è Scopre Piau le carte, e qui, la sorte gioca, pin che l'Arte.

¶ Metra questi indisparte.

Stabilito e nel Ciel quelle, che esserde, ne giona al nostro dic, questo Sara questo è.

W. A. W.



Gualterus Haddonus Cantabrigien.

Mittere qui celeres summa uelit arte sagittas,
Ars erit ex isto summa profecta libro.
Quicquid habent arcus rigidi, neruig rotundi,
Sumere si libet, hoc sumere fonte licet.
Aschamus est author, magnū quē fecit Apollo
Arte sua, magnum Pallas & arte sua.
Docta man dedit hūc, dedit hūc mēs docta libellū:
Quæ uidet Ars Vsus uisa, parata facit.
Optimus hæc author quia tradidit optima scripta,
Conuenit hec uobis optima uelle sequi.

To the moste graciouse, and our most drad Soueraigne lord,

Kyng Henrie the .viii, by the grace of God, kyng
of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defen
der of the faythe, and of the churche
of Englande & also of Irelande
in earth supreme head, next vn
der Christ, be al health
victorie, and felicitie.

THAT tyme as, moste gracious Prince, your highnes this last year past, tooke that your moost honorable and victorious iourney into Fraunce, accompanied vvith such a porte of the Nobilitie and yeomanrie of Englande, as neyther hath bene lyke knovven by experience, nor yet red of in Historie: accompanied also with the daylie prayers, good hartes, and vvilles of all and euery one your graces subjectes, lefte behinde you here at home in Englande: the same tyme, I beinge at my booke in Cambrige, sorie that my litle habilitie could stretche out no better, to helpe forward so noble an enterprice, yet with my good vvylle, prayer, and harte, nothinge behynde hym that vvas formoste of all, conceyued a vvonderful desire, bi the praier, vvishing, talking, & communicatio that vvas in euery mas mouth, for your Graces moost victoriouse retourne, to offer vp sumthinge, at your home cumming to your Highnesse, vvhich shuld both be a token of mi loue and deutie tovvard your Maiestie, & also a signe of my good minde and zeale tovvarde mi countrie.

This occasion geuen to me at that time, caused me to take in hand againe, this litle purpose of shoting, begon of me before, yet not ended that for other studies more mete for that trade of liuinge, vvhiche God and mi frendes had set me vnto. But vvhen your Graces moste ioifull & happie victorie preueted mi dailie and spedie diligencie to performe this matter, I vvas compelled to vvaite an other time to prepare & offer vp this litle boke vnto your Maiestie. And vvhan it hath pleased youre Highenesse of your infinit goodnesse, & also your most honorable Counsel to knovv and pervse ouer the contentes, & some parte of this boke, and so to alove it, that other me might rede it, throughe the furderaunce and setting forthe of the right worshipfull and mi Singuler good Master sir Vvilliam Pagette Knight, moost vvorthie Secretarie to your highnes, & most open & redie succoure to al poore honest learned mes sutes, I moost humblie beseche your Grace to take in good vvorthe this litle treatise purposed, bego, and ended of me onelie for this intent, that Labour, Honest pastime & Vertu, might recouer againe that place and right, that Idlenesse, Vnthriftie gamning and Vice hath put them fro.

And althoughe to haue vvritten this boke either in latin or Greke (vyhich thing I vyold be verie glad yet to do, if I might surelie knovy your Graces pleasure there in) had bene more easier & fit for mi trade in study, yet neuerthelesse, I supposinge it no point of honestie, that mi commodite should stop & hinder ani parte either of the pleasure or profite of manie, haue vvritten this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men: vyhere in this I trust that your Grace (if it shall please your Highnesse to rede it) shal perceaue it to be a thinge Honeste for me to vvrite, pleasaunt for some to rede, and profitable for manie to folovy, contening a pastime, honest for the minde, holsome for the body, fit for eueri man, vile for no man, vsing the day & ope place for Honestie to rule it, not lurking in corners for misorder to abuse it. Therfore I trust it shal apere, to be bothe a sure token of my zeele to set forwarde shootinge, and some signe of my minde, tovvardes honestie and learninge.

Thus I vvil trouble your Grace no longer, but vvith my daylie praier, I vvil beseche God to preserue your Grace, in al health and felicitie: to the feare and ouerthrovve of all your ennemies: to the pleasure, ioyfulnesse and succour of al your subiectes: to the vtter destruction of papistrie and heresie: to the continuall setting forth of Goddes vvorde and his glo rye.

Your Graces most bounden Scholer,

Roger Ascham.

TO ALL GENTLE MEN AND YOMEN OF ENGLANDE.

₫

I las the wyse man came to Cresus the ryche kyng, on a D tyme, when he was makynge newe shyppes, purposyng to haue subdued by water the out yles lying betwixt Grece and Asia minor: What newes now in Grece, saith the king to Bias? None other newes, but these, sayeth Bias: that the yles of Grece haue prepared a wonderful companye of horsemen, to ouerrun Lydia withall. There is nothyng vnder heauen, sayth the kynge, that I woulde so soone wisshe, as that they durst be so bolde, to mete vs on the lande with horse. And thinke you sayeth Bias, that there is anye thyng which they wolde sooner wysshe, then that you shulde be so fonde, to mete them on the water with shyppes? And so Cresus hearyng not the true newes, but perceyuyng the wise mannes mynde and counsell, both gaue then ouer making of his shyppes, and left also behynde him a wonderful example for all commune wealthes to followe: that is euermore to regarde and set most by that thing whervnto nature hath made them moost apt, and vse hath made them moost fitte.

By this matter I meane the shotyng in the long bowe, for English men: which thyng with all my hert I do wysh, and if I were of authoritie, I wolde counsel all the gentlemen and yomen of Englande, not to chaunge it with any other thyng, how good soeuer it seme to be: but that styll, accordyng to the oulde wont of England, youth shulde vse it for the moost honest pastyme in peace, that men myght handle it as a mooste sure weapon in warre. Other stronge weapons whiche bothe

experience doth proue to be good, and the wysdom of the kinges Maiestie & his counsel prouydes to be had, are not ordeyned to take away shotyng: but yt both, not compared togither, whether shuld be better then the other, but so ioyned togither that the one shoulde be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, myght so strengthen the Realme on all sydes, that no kynde of enemy in any kynde of weapon, myght passe and go beyonde vs.

For this purpose I, partelye prouoked by the counsell of some gentlemen, partly moued by the loue whiche I haue alwayes borne towarde shotyng, haue wrytten this lytle treatise, wherin if I haue not satisfyed any man, I trust he wyll the rather be content wt my doyng, bycause I am (I suppose) the firste, whiche hath sayde any thynge in this matter (and fewe begynnynges be perfect, sayth wyse men) And also bycause yf I haue sayed a misse, I am content that any man amende it, or yf I haue sayd to lytle, any man that wyl to adde what hym pleaseth to it.

My minde is, in profitynge and pleasynge euery man, to hurte or displease no man, intendyng none other purpose, but that youthe myght be styrred to labour, honest pastyme, and vertue, and as much as lave in me, plucked from ydlenes, vnthriftie games, and vice: whyche thing I haue laboured onlye in this booke, shewynge howe fit shootyng is for all kyndes of men, howe honest a pastyme for the mynde, howe holsome an excercise for the bodye, not vile for great men to vse, not costlye for poore men to susteyne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at theyr pleasure, to misses it, but abiding in the open sight & face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wisdome to correct it.

And here I woulde desire all gentlemen and yomen, to vse this pastime in suche a mean, that the outragiousnes of great gamyng, shuld not hurte the honestie of shotyng, which of his owne nature is alwayes ioyned with honestie: yet for mennes faultes oftentymes blamed vnworthely, as all good thynges haue ben, and euermore shall be.

If any man woulde blame me, eyther for takynge such a matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this answere I maye make hym, that whan the beste of the

realme thinke it honest for them to vse, I one of the meanest sorte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write: And though to have written it in an other tonge, had bene bothe more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my labour wel bestowed, yf wt a little hynderaunce of my profyt and name, maye come any fourtheraunce, to the pleasure or commoditie, of the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose sake I tooke this matter in hande. And as for ye Latin or greke tonge, euery thyng is so excellently done in them, that none can do better: In the Englysh tonge contrary, euery thinge in a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse. For therin the least learned for the moste parte, haue ben alwayes moost redye to wryte. And they whiche had leaste hope in latin, haue bene moste boulde in englyshe: when surelye euery man that is moste ready to taulke, is not moost able to wryte. He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste folowe thys councel of Aristotle, to speake as the comon people do, to thinke as wise men do: and so should euery man vnderstande hym, and the iudgement of wyse men alowe hym. Many English writers have not done so, but vsinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man whiche reasoned the englyshe tongue to be enryched and encreased therby, sayinge: Who wyll not prayse that feaste, where a man shall drinke at a diner, bothe wyne, ale and beere? Truely quod I, they be all good, euery one taken by hym selfe alone, but if you putte Maluesye and sacke, read wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drynke, neyther easie to be knowen, nor yet holsom for the bodye. Cicero in following Isocrates, Plato and Demosthenes, increased the latine tounge after an other sorte. This waye, bycause dyuers men yt write, do not know, they can neyther followe it, bycause of theyr ignorauncie, nor yet will prayse it, for verye arrogauncie, ii. faultes, seldome the one out of the others companye.

Englysh writers by diuersitie of tyme, haue taken diuerse matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherin a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye.

Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the time with al, he is deceyued. For surelye vayne woordes doo woorke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyuen any thynge thervnto of theyr owne nature. These bokes (as I haue heard say) were made the moste parte in Abbayes, and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of

suche an ydle and blynde kinde of lyuynge.

In our tyme nowe, whan euery manne is gyuen to knowe muche rather than to liue wel, very many do write, but after suche a fashion, as very many do shoote. Some shooters take in hande stronger bowes, than they be able to mayntayne. This thyng maketh them sumtyme, to outshoote the marke, sumtyme to shote far wyde, and perchaunce hurte sume that looke on. Other that neuer learned to shote, nor yet knoweth good shafte nor bowe, wyll be as busic as the best, but suche one comonly plucketh doune a syde, and crafty archers which be agaynst him, will be bothe glad of hym, and also euer ready to laye and bet with him: it were better for suche one to sit doune than shote. Other there be, whiche haue verye good bowe and shaftes, and good knowlege in shootinge, but they haue bene brought vp in suche euyl fauoured shootynge, that they can neyther shoote fayre, nor yet nere. Yf any man wyll applye these thynges togyther, [he] shal not se the one farre differ from the other.

And I also amonges all other, in writinge this lytle treatise, haue folowed sume yonge shooters, whiche bothe wyll begyn to shoote, for a lytle moneye, and also wyll vse to shote ones or twise about the marke for nought, afore they beginne a good. And therfore did I take this little matter in hande, to assaye my selfe, and hereafter by the grace of God, if the iudgement of wyse men, that looke on, thinke that I can do any good, I maye perchaunce caste my shafte amonge other, for better game.

Yet in writing this booke, some man wyll maruayle perchaunce, why that I beyng an vnperfyte shoter, shoulde take in hande to write of makyng a perfyte archer: the same man peraduenture wyll maruayle, howe a whettestone whiche is blunte, can make the edge of a knife sharpe: I woulde ye same man shulde consider also, that in goyng about anye matter, there be .iiii. thinges to be considered, doyng, saying, thinking and perfectnesse: Firste there is no man that doth so wel, but he can saye better, or elles summe men, whiche be now starke nought, shuld be to good: Agayne no man can vtter wyth his tong, so wel as he is able to imagin with his minde, & yet perfectnesse it selfe is farre aboue all thinking. Than seing that saying is one steppe nerer perfectnesse than doyng, let euery man leue maruaylyng why my woorde shall rather expresse, than my dede shall perfourme perfecte shootinge.

I truste no man will be offended with this litle booke excepte it be sume fletchers and bowiers, thinking hereby that manye that loue shootynge shall be taughte to refuse suche noughtie wares as they woulde vtter. Honest fletchers and bowyers do not so, and they that be vnhonest, oughte rather to amende them selues for doinge ill, than be angrie with me for sayinge wel. A fletcher hath euen as good a quarell to be angry wt an archer that refuseth an ill shaft, as a bladesmith hath to a fletcher yt forsaketh to bye of him a noughtie knyfe: For as an archer must be content that a fletcher know a good shafte in euery poynte for the perfecter makynge of it, So an honeste fletcher will also be content that a shooter knowe a good shafte in euery poynt for the perfiter vsing of it: bicause the one knoweth like a fletcher how to make it, the other knoweth lyke an archer howe to vse it. And seyng the knowlege is one in them bothe, yet the ende diuerse, surely that fletcher is an enemye to archers and artillery, whiche can not be content that an archer knowe a shafte as well for his vse in shotynge, as he hym selfe shoulde knowe a shafte, for hys aduauntage in sellynge. And the rather bycause shaftes be not made so muche to be solde, but chefely to be vsed. And seynge that vse and occupiyng is the ende why a shafte is made, the making as it were a meane for occupying, surely the knowelege in euery poynte of a good shafte, is more to be required in a shooter than a fletcher.

Yet as I sayde before no honest fletcher wil be angry with me, seinge I do not teache howe to make a shafte whiche belongeth onelye to a good fletcher, but to knowe and handle a shafte, which belongeth to an archer. And this lytle booke I truste, shall please and profite both partes: For good bowes and shaftes shall be better knowen to the comoditie of al shoters,

xvii

and good shotyng may perchaunce be the more occupied to the profite of all bowyers and fletchers. And thus I praye God that all fletchers getting theyr lyuynge truly, and al archers vsynge shootynge honestly, and all maner of men that fauour artillery, maye lyue continuallye in healthe and merinesse, obeying theyr prince as they shulde, and louing God as they ought, to whom for all thinges be al honour and glorye for euer. Amen

TOXOPHILVS,

The schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes.

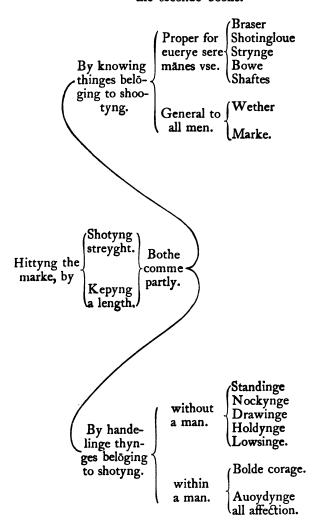
To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastyme to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in war and peace.

The contentes of the first booke.

| Earnest businesse ought to be refreshed wy neste pastyme. | th ho- Col. 1. | [p | . I. |
|--|----------------------|----|------|
| Shootyng moost honest pastyme. | 3. | [| 4. |
| The inuention of shootinge. | 5. | [| 6. |
| Shootynge fit for princes and greate men. | 5. |] | 7.] |
| Shootyng, fit for Scholers and studentes. | 8. | [| то.] |
| Shootynge fitter for studentes than any n or Instrumentes. | nusi ke 9. |] | 12.] |
| Youthe ought to learne to singe. | II. | [| T4.] |

| | | xix |
|--|-----|------|
| No maner of man doth or can vse to muche shootynge. 14. | [p. | 18.] |
| Agaynste vnlawfull gammes and namelye cardes and dise. 16. | [| 21.] |
| Shootyng in war. 24. | [| 32.] |
| Obedience the best propertie of a Souldyar. 25. | [| 33.] |
| Reasons and authorites agaynste shootynge in war with the confutacion of the same. 26. | [| 35.] |
| God is pleased with stronge wepons and valyaunt feates of war. 28. | [| 39.] |
| The commoditie of Shootyng in war throughe the Histories Greke and Latin, & all nations Chri- sten and Hethen. 29. | [| 41.] |
| Vse of shootynge at home causethe strongeshootinge in warre. 41. | [| 55.] |
| Vse of shootynge at home, except men be apte by nature, and connynge by teachyng, doth litle good at all. 43. | [| 58.] |
| Lacke of learnynge to shoote causethe Englande lacke many a good archer. 46. | [| 62.] |
| In learnyng any thyng, a man must couete to be best, or els he shal neuer attayne to be meane. 47. | [| 63.] |

A Table conteyning the seconde booke.



TOXOPHILVS,

Α,

The first boke of the schole of shoting.

Philologus.

Toxophilus.

HILOLOGUS. You studie to sore Toxophile. TOX. I wil not hurt my self ouermoche I warraut you. PHI. A Take hede you do not, for we Physicions saye, that it is nether good for the eyes in so cleare a Sunne, nor yet holsome for ye bodie, so soone after meate, to looke vpon a mans boke. TOX. In eatinge and studyinge I will neuer folowe anye Physike, for yf I dyd, I am sure I shoulde haue small pleasure in the one, and lesse courage in the other. But what newes draue you hyther I praye you? PHI. Small newes trulie, but that as I came on walkynge, I fortuned to come wt thre or foure that went to shote at the pryckes: And when I sawe not you amonges them, but at the last espyed you lokynge on your booke here so sadlye, I thought to come and holde you with some com munication, lest your boke shoulde runne awaye with you. For me thought by your waveryng pace & earnest lokying, your boke led you, not you it. TOX. In dede as it chaunced, my mynde went faster then my feete, for I happened here to reade in Phedro Platonis, a place that entretes wonderfullie of the nature of soules, which place (whether it were for the passynge eloquence of Plato, and the Greke tongue, or for the hyghe and godlie description of the matter, kept my mynde so occupied, that it had no leisure to loke to my feete. For I was reding howe some soules being well fethered, flewe alwayes about heaue and heauenlie matters, other some havinge their fethers mowted awaye, and droupinge, sanke downe into earthlie thinges. PHI. I remebre the place verie wel, and it is wonderfullie sayd of Plato, & now I se it

was no maruell though your fete fayled you, seing your minde TOX. I am gladde now that you letted me, flewe so fast. for my head akes wt loking on it, and bycause you tell me so, I am verye sorie yt I was not with those good feloes you spake vpon, for it is a verie faire day for a mā to shote in. PHI. And me thinke you were a great dele better occupied & in better copanie, for it is a very faire daye for a ma to go to his boke TOX. Al dayes and wethers wil serue for that purpose, and surelie this occasio was ill lost. PHI. Yea but clere wether maketh clere mindes, and it is best as I suppose, to spend ye best time vpon the best thinges: And me thought you shot verie wel, and at that marke, at which euery good scoler shoulde moste busilie shote at. And I suppose it be a great dele more pleasure also, to se a soule flye in Plato, then a shafte flye at the prickes. I graunte you, shoting is not the worst thing in the world, yet if we shote, and time shote, we ar not like to be great winners at the length. And you know also we scholers haue more ernest & weightie matters in hand, nor we be not borne to pastime & pley, as you know wel ynough TOX. Yet the same man in the who sayth. M. Cic. ī off. same place Philologe, by your leue, doth admitte holsome, honest and manerlie pastimes to be as necessarie to be migled with sad matters of the minde, as eating & sleping is for the health of the body, and yet we be borne for neither of bothe. And Aristotle him selfe Arist. de mosayth, yt although it were a fonde & a chyldish ribus. 10. 6. thing to be to ernest in pastime & play, yet doth he affirme by the authoritie of the oulde Poet Epicharmus, that a man may vse play for ernest matter sake. Arist. Pol. And in an other place, yt as rest is for labour, & 8. 3. medicines for helth, so is pastime at tymes for sad & weightie studie. PHI. How moche in this matter is to be giuen to ye auctoritie either of Aristotle or Tullie, I ca not tel, seing sad me may wel ynough speke merily for a merie matter, this I am sure, whiche thing this faire wheat (god saue it) maketh me remēbre, yt those husbādmen which rise erliest, and come latest home, and are content to have their diner and other drinckinges, broughte into the fielde to them, for feare of losing of time, haue fatter barnes in haruest, than they whiche will either slepe at none time of the daye, or els make merie wt their neighbours at the ale. And so a scholer yt purposeth to be a good husband, and desireth to repe and enioy much fruite, of learninge, muste tylle and sowe thereafter. Our beste seede tyme, whiche be scholers, as it is verie tymelye, and whan we be yonge: so it endureth not ouerlonge, and therfore it maye not be let slippe one houre, oure grounde is verye harde, and full of wedes, our horse wherwt we be drawen very wylde as Plato sayth. And infinite other mo lettes whiche wil make a thriftie scholer take hede how he spedeth his tyme in sporte and pleye. TOX. That Aristotle and Tullie spake ernestlie, and as they thought, the ernest matter which they entreate vpon, doth plainlye proue. And as for your husbandrie, it was more probablic tolde with apt wordes propre to ye thing, then throughly proued with reasons belongynge to our matter. For contrariwise I herd my selfe a good husbande at his boke ones saye, that to omit studie somtime of the daye, and sometime of the yere, made asmoche for the encrease of learning, as to let the lad lye sometime falloe, maketh for the better encrease of corne. This we se, yf the lande be plowed euerye yere, the corne commeth thinne vp: the eare is short, the grayne is small, and when it is brought into the barne and threshed, gyueth very euill faul. So those which neuer leaue poring on their bokes, haue oftetimes as thinne inuention, as other poore me haue, and as smal wit and weight in it as in other mens. And thus youre husbandrie me thinke, is more like the life of a couetouse snudge that oft very euill preues, then the labour of a good husbad that knoweth wel what he doth. And surelie the best wittes to lerning must nedes have moche recreation and ceasing from their boke, or els they marre them selues, whe base and dompysshe wittes can neuer be hurte with continual studie, as ye se in luting, that a treble minikin string must alwayes be let down, but at suche time as when a man must nedes playe: when ye base and dull stryng nedeth neuer to be moued out of his place. The same reason I finde true in two bowes that I haue, wherof the one is quicke of cast, tricke, and trime both for pleasure and profyte: the other is a lugge slowe of cast, following the string, more sure for to last, then pleasaunt for to vse. Now sir it chauced this other night, one in my chabre wolde nedes bende them to proue their strength, but I can not tel how,

they were both left bente tyll the nexte daye at after dyner: and when I came to them, purposing to haue gone on shoting, I found my good bowe clene cast on the one side, and as weake as water, that surelie (if I were a riche man) I had rather haue spent a crowne: and as for my lugge, it was not one whyt the worse: but shotte by and by as wel and as farre as euer it dyd. And euen so I am sure that good wittes, except they be let downe like a treble string, and vnbent like a good casting bowe, they wil neuer last and be able to cotinue in studie. And I know where I speake this *Philologe*, for I wolde not saye thus moche afore yong men, for they wil take soone occasion to studie litle ynough. But I saye it therfore bicause I knowe, as litle studie getteth litle learninge or none at all, so the moost studie getteth not ye moost learning of all. For a mans witte sore occupied in ernest studie, must be as wel recreated with some honest pastime, as the body sore laboured, must be refreshed with slepe and quietnesse, or els it can not endure very longe, as the noble poete sayeth.

Ouid. What thig watf quiet & meri rest endures but a smal while.

And I promise you shoting by my judgement, is ye moost B honest pastime of al, & suche one I am sure, of all other, that hindreth learning litle or nothing at all, whatsoeuer you & some other saye, whiche are a gret dele sorer against it alwaies that you nede to be. PHI. Hindereth learninge litle or nothinge at all? that were a meruayle to me truelie, and I am sure seing you saye so, you have some reason wherewith you can defende shooting wtall, and as for wyl (for the loue that you beare towarde shotinge) I thinke there shall lacke none in you. Therfore seinge we have so good leysure bothe, and no bodie by to trouble vs: and you so willinge & able to defende it, and I so redy and glad to heare what may be sayde of it I suppose we canne not passe the tyme better ouer, neyther you for ye honestie of your shoting, nor I for myne owne mindsake, than to se what can be sayed with it, or agaynste it, and speciallie in these dayes, whan so many doeth vse it, and euerie man in a maner doeth common of it. TOX. To speake of shootinge Philologe, trulye I woulde I were so able, either as I my selfe am willing or yet as the matter deserueth, but seing with wisshing we can not have one nowe worthie, whiche so worthie a thinge can worthilie praise, and although I had rather haue anie other to do it than my selfe, yet my selfe rather then no other. I wil not fail to saye in it what I can wherin if I saye litle, laye that of my litle habilitie, not of the matter it selfe whiche deserueth no lyttle thinge to be sayde of it. PHI. If it deserue no little thinge to be sayde of it Toxophile, I maruell howe it chaunceth than, that no man hitherto, hath written any thinge of it: wherin you must graunte me, that eyther the matter is noughte, vnworthye, and barren to be written vppon, or els some men are to blame, whiche both loue it and vse it, and yet could neuer finde in theyr heart, to saye one good woorde of it, seinge that very triflinge matters hath not lacked great learned men to sette them out, as gnattes and nuttes, & many other mo like thinges, wherfore eyther you may honestlie laye verie great faut vpo men bycause they neuer yet praysed it, or els I may iustlie take awaye no litle thinge from shooting, bycause it neuer yet deserued it. TOX. Trulye herein Philologe, you take not so muche from it, as you give to it. For great and commodious thynges are neuer greatlie praysed, not bycause they be not worthie, but bicause their excellencie nedeth no man hys prayse, hauinge all theyr comendation of them selfe not borowed of other men his lippes, which rather prayse them selfe, in spekynge much of a litle thynge than that matter whiche they entreat vpon. Great & good thinges be not praysed. For who euer praysed Hercules (sayeth the Greke prouerbe) And that no man hitherto hath written any booke of shoting the fault is not to be layed in the thyng whiche was worthie to be written vpon, but of men which were negligent in doyng it, and this was the cause therof as I suppose. Menne that vsed shootyng moste and knewe it best, were not learned: men that were lerned, vsed litle shooting, and were ignorant in the nature of the thynge, and so fewe menne hath bene that hitherto were able to wryte vpon it. Yet howe longe shotying hath continued, what common wealthes hath moste vsed it, howe honeste a thynge it is for all men, what kynde of liuing so euer they folow, what pleasure and profit cometh of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of tongues & writers, Hebrue, Greke and Latine, hath so plentifullie spoken of it, as of fewe other thinges like. So what shooting is howe many kindes there is of it,

what goodnesse is joyned with it, is tolde: onelye howe it is to be learned and brought to a perfectnesse amonges men, is not PHI. Than Toxophile, if it be so as you do saye, let vs go forwarde and examin howe plentifullie this is done that you speke, and firste of the invention of it, than what honestie & profit is in the vse of it, bothe for warre & peace, more than in other pastimes, laste of all howe it ought to be learned amonges men for the encrease of it, whiche thinge if you do, not onelye I nowe for youre comunication but many other mo, when they shall knowe of it, for your labour, & shotying it selfe also (if it coulde speke) for your kyndnesse, wyll can you TOXOPH. What good thynges me very moche thanke. speake of shoting & what good thinges shooting bringes to men as my wit & knowlege will serue me, gladly shall I say my mind. But how the thing is to be learned I will surely leue to some other which bothe for greater experience in it, & also for PHI. Well as their lerninge, can set it out better than I. for that I knowe both what you can do in shooting by experience, & yt you cā also speke well ynough of shooting, for youre learning, but go on with the first part. And I do not doubt, but what my desyre, what your loue toward it, the honestie of shoting, the profite that may come therby to many other, shall get the seconde parte out of you at the last.

TOXOPH. Of the first finders out of shoting, divers men diuerslye doo wryte. Claudiane the poete Claudianus sayth that nature gaue example of shotyng first, in histri. by the Porpentine, whiche doth shote his prickes, and will hitte any thinge that fightes with it: whereby men learned afterwarde to immitate the same in Plin. 7. 56. findyng out both bowe and shaftes. Plinie referreth it to Schythes the sonne of Iupiter. Better and more noble wryters bringe shoting from a more noble inuentour: as Plato, Calimachus, and Galene from Apollo. In sympo. Yet longe afore those dayes do we reade in the In hym. Apoll'. bible of shotinge expreslye. And also if we shall Gen. 21. beleue Nicholas de Lyra, Lamech killed Cain Nic. de lyra. with a shafte. So this great continuaunce of shoting doth not a lytle praise shotinge: nor that neither doth not a litle set it oute, that it is referred to thinuention of Apollo, for the which poynt shoting is highlye praised of Galene: where he sayth, yt mean craftes be first foud out by men or beastes, as weauing by a spider, and Galen in exsuche other: but high and comendable sciences by nas artes. goddes, as shotinge and musicke by Apollo. And thus shotynge for the necessitie of it vsed in Adams dayes, for the noblenesse of it referred to Apollo, hath not ben onelie comended in all tunges and writers, but also had in greate price, both in the best comune wealthes in warre tyme for the defece of their countrie, and of all degrees of men in peace tyme, bothe for the honestie that is joyned with it, and the profyte that followeth of it. PHILOL. Well, as concerning the fyndinge oute of it, litle prayse is gotten to shotinge therby, seinge good wittes maye mooste easelye of all fynde oute a trifelynge matter. But where as you saye that mooste commune wealthes haue vsed it in warre tyme, and all degrees of men maye verye honestlye vse it in peace tyme: I thynke you can neither shewe by authoritie, nor yet proue by reason. TOXOPHI. The vse of it in warre tyme, I wyll declare hereafter. And firste howe all kindes and sortes of men (what degree soeuer they be) hath at all tymes afore, and nowe maye honestlye vse it: the example of mooste noble men verye well doeth proue,

Cyaxares the kynge of the Medees, and greate graundefather to Cyrus, kepte a sorte of Sythians with him onely for this purpose, to teache his sonne

Astyages to shote. Cyr⁹ being a childe was brought vp in shoting, which thinge Xenophon wolde neuer haue made mention on, except it had ben fitte Cyri. I. for all princes to haue vsed: seing that Xenophō wrote Cyrus lyfe (as Tullie sayth) not to shewe what Cyrus did, but what all maner of princes both in pastimes and ernest matters ought to do.

Ad. Quint.

Darius the first of that name, and king of

Persie shewed plainly howe fit it is for a kinge to loue and
vse shotynge, whiche commaunded this sentence to be grauen
in his tombe, for a Princelie memorie and prayse.

Darius the King lieth buried here Strabo. 15.

That in shoting and riding had neuer pere.

Agayne, Domitian the Emperour was so cūning in shoting that he coulde shote betwixte a mans Tranq. suet.

fingers standing afarre of, and neuer hurt him. Comodus also was so excellent, and had so sure a hande in it, Herodia. 1. that there was nothing within his retche & shote, but he wolde hit it in what place he wolde: as beastes runninge, either in the heed, or in the herte, and neuer mysse, as Herodiane sayeth he sawe him selfe, or els he coulde neuer haue beleued it. PHI. In dede you praise shoting very wel, in yt you shewe that Domitian and Commodus loue shotinge, suche an vngracious couple I am sure as a man shall not fynde agayne, if he raked all hell for them. TOXOPH. Wel euen as I wyll not commende their ilnesse, so ought not you to dispraise their goodnesse, and in dede, the judgement of Herodian vpon Commodus is true of them bothe, and that was this: that beside strength of bodie and good shotinge, they hadde no princelie thing in them, which saying me thinke commendes shoting wonderfullie, callinge it a princelie thinge.

Furthermore howe commendable shotinge is for princes:

Themistic the noble philosopher sheweth in a certayne oration made to Theodosius themperoure, wherein he doeth commende him for .iii. thinges, that he vsed of a childe. For shotinge, for rydinge of an horse

well, and for feates of armes.

Moreouer, not onelye kinges and emperours haue ben brought vp in shoting, but also the best comune wealthes that euer were, haue made goodlie actes & lawes for it, as the Persians which vnder Cyrus coquered in a maner all the worlde, Herod. ī clio. had a lawe that their children shulde learne thre thinges onelie, from v. yeare oulde vnto .xx. to ryde an horse well, to shote well, to speake truthe alwayes & Leo de straneuer lye. The Romaines (as Leo themperour lag. 20. in his boke of sleightes of warre telleth) had a lawe that euery man shoulde vse shoting in peace tyme, while he was .xl. yere olde and that euerye house shoulde haue a bowe, and .xl. shaftes ready for all nedes, the omittinge of whiche lawe (sayth Leo) amonges the youthe, hath ben the onely occasion why the Romaynes lost a great dele of their empire. But more of this I wil speake whe I come to the profite of shoting in warre. If I shuld rehearse the statutes made of noble princes of Englande in parliamentes for the settyng forwarde of shoting, through this realme, and specially that acte made for shoting the thyrde yere of the reygne of our moost drad soueraygne lorde

king Henry the .viii. I could be very long. But these fewe exaples specially of so great men & noble comon wealthes, shall stand in stede of many. PHI. That suche princes and suche comune welthes haue moche regarded shoting, you haue well declared. But why shotinge ought so of it selfe to be regarded, you have scarcelye yet proved. TOX. Examples I graunt out of histories do shew a thing to be so, not proue a thing why it shuld be so. Yet this I suppose, yt neither great mens qualities being comedable be without great authoritie, for other men honestly to folow them: nor yet those great learned men that wrote suche thinges, lacke good reaso iustly at al tymes for any other to approue the. Princes beinge children oughte to be brought vp in shoting: both bycause it is an exercise moost holsom, and also a pastyme moost honest: wherin labour prepareth the body to hardnesse, the minde to couragiousnesse, suffering neither the one to be marde with tendernesse, nor yet the other to be hurte with ydlenesse: as we reade how Sardanapalus and suche other were, bycause they were not brought vp wt outwarde honest payneful pastymes to be men: but cockerde vp with inwarde noughtie ydle wantonnesse to be women. For how fit labour is for al youth, Iupiter or else Minos amonges them of Grece, and Lycurgus amonges the Lacedemonians, do shewe Cic. 2. Tus. by their lawes, which neuer ordeyned any thing for ye bringing up of youth that was not ioyned with labour. And the labour which is in shoting of al other is best, both bycause it encreaseth strength, and preserueth health moost, beinge not vehement, but moderate, not ouerlaying any one part with werysomnesse, but softly exercisynge euery parte with equalnesse, as the armes and breastes with drawinge, the other parties with going, being not so paynfull for the labour as pleasaunt for the pastyme, which exercise by the iudgement of the best physicions, is most alowable. By shoting also is the mynde honestly exercised where Gal. 2. de a mā alwaies desireth to be best (which is a worde san. tuend. of honestie) and that by the same waye, that

vertue it selfe doeth, couetinge to come nighest a moost perfite ende or meane standing betwixte .ii. extremes, eschewinge shorte, or gone, or eithersyde wide, for the which causes Aristotle him selfe sayth that shoting and vertue be very like. Moreouer that shoting of all other is the moost Arist. 1. de honest pastyme, and hath leest occasion to morib. noughtinesse ioyned with it .ii. thinges very playnelye do proue, which be as a man wolde saye, the tutours and ouerseers to shotinge: Daye light and open place where euerye man doeth come, the maynteyners and kepers of shoting, from all vnhonest doing. If shotinge faulte at any tyme, it hydes it not, it lurkes not in corners and huddermother: but openly accuseth & bewrayeth it selfe, which is the nexte waye to amendement, as wyse men do saye. And these thinges I suppose be signes, not of noughtinesse, for any man to disalowe it: but rather verye playne tokens of honestie, for euerve man to prayse it.

The vse of shotinge also in greate mennes chyldren shall greatly eencrease the loue and vse of shotinge in all the residue of youth. For meane mennes myndes loue to be lyke greate menne, as Plato and Isocrates do saye. And that euerye bodye shoulde learne to shote when they be yonge, defence of the comune wealth, doth require who they be olde, which thing can not be done mightelye when they be men, excepte they learne it perfitelye when they be boyes. And therfore shotinge of all pastymes is moost fitte to be vsed in childhode: bycause it is an imitation of moost ernest

thinges to be done in manhode.

Wherfore, shoting is fitte for great mens children, both bycause it strengthneth the body with holsome labour, and pleaseth the mynde with honest pastime and also encourageth all other youth ernestlye to folowe the same. And these reasons (as I suppose) stirred vp both great men to bring vp their chyldren in shotinge, and also noble commune wealthes so straytelye to commande shoting. Therfore seinge Princes moued by honest occasions, hath in al commune wealthes vsed shotynge, I suppose there is none other degree of men, neither D lowe nor hye, learned nor leude, yonge nor oulde. PHIL. You shal nede wade no further in this matter Toxophile, but if you can proue me that scholers and men gyuen to learning maye honestlie vse shoting, I wyll soone graût you that all other sortes of men maye not onelye lefullie, but ought of dutie to vse it. But I thinke you can not proue but that all

these examples of shotinge brought from so longe a tyme, vsed of so noble princes, confirmed by so wyse mennes lawes and iudgementes, are sette afore temporall men, onelye to followe them: whereby they may the better and stroglyer defende the commune wealth withall. And nothing belongeth to scholers and learned men, which have an other parte of the commune wealth, quiete and peaceable put to their cure and charge, whose ende as it is diuerse fro the other, so there is no one waye that leadeth to them both. TOXO. I graunte Philologe, that scholers and lay men have diverse offices and charges in the comune wealth, whiche requires diuerse briging vp in their youth, if they shal do them as they ought to do in their age. Yet as temporall men of necessitie are compelled to take somewhat of learning to do their office the better withal: So scholers maye the boldlyer borowe somewhat of laye mennes pastimes, to maynteyne their health in studie withall. And surelie of al other thinges shoting is necessary for both sortes to learne. Whiche thing, when it hath ben euermore vsed in Englande how moche good it hath done, both oulde men and Chronicles doo tell: and also our enemies can beare vs recorde. For if it be true (as I have hearde save) when the kynge of Englande hath ben in Fraunce, the preestes at home bicause they were archers, haue ben able to ouerthrowe all Scotlande. Agayne ther is an other thing which aboue all other doeth moue me, not onely to loue shotinge, to prayse shoting, to exhorte all other to shotinge, but also to vse shoting my selfe: and that is our kyng his moost royall purpose and wyll, whiche in all his statutes generally edoth commaunde men, and with his owne mouthe moost gentlie doeth exhorte men, and by his greate gyftes and rewardes, greatly doth encourage men, and with his moost princelie example very oft doth prouoke all other mē to the same. But here you wyll come in wt teporal man and scholer: I tell you plainlye, scholer or vnscholer, yea if I were .xx. scholers, I wolde thinke it were my dutie, bothe with exhortinge men to shote, and also with shoting my selfe to helpe to set forwarde that thing which the kinge his wisdome, and his counsell, so greatly elaboureth to go forwarde: whiche thinge surelye they do, bycause they knowe it to be in warre, the defence and wal of our countrie, in peace, an exercise moost holsome for the body, a pastime moost honest for the

mynde, and as I am able to proue my selfe, of al other moste fit and agreable with learninge and learned men.

PHI. If you can proue this thing so playnly, as you speake it ernestly, the wil I, not only thinke as you do, but become a shooter and do as you do. But yet beware I saye, lest you for the great loue you bear towarde shotinge, blindlie iudge of shootinge. For love & al other to ernest affections be not for nought paynted blinde. Take hede (I saye) least you prefer shootinge afore other pastimes, as one Balbinus through blinde affection, preferred his louer before all other wemen, although she were deformed with a polypus in her nose. And although shooting maye be mete sometyme for some scholers, and so forthe: yet the fittest alwayes is to be preferred. Therefore if you will nedes graunt scholers pastime and recreation of their mindes, let them use (as many of the doth) Musyke, and playing on instrumentes, thinges moste semely for all scholers, and moste regarded alwayes of Apollo & the Muses. TOX. Euen as I can not deny, but some musike is fit for lerning so I trust you can not chose but graunt, that shoting is fit also, as Calimach9 doth signifie in this verse.

Cal. hym. 2. Both merie songes and good shoting deliteth Appollo.

But as concerning whether of them is moste fit for learning, E and scholers to vse, you may saye what you will for your pleasure, this I am sure that Plato and Aristotle bothe, in their bookes entreatinge of the comon welthe, where they shew howe youthe shoulde be brought vp in .iiii. thinges, in redinge, in writing, in exercise of bodye, and singing, do make mention of Musicke & all kindes of it, wherein they both agre, that Musike vsed amonges the Lydians is verie ill for yong men, which be studentes for vertue and learning, for a certain nice, softe, and smoth swetnesse of it, whiche woulde rather entice the to noughtines, than stirre them to honestie.

An other kinde of Musicke inuented by the Dorians, they both wonderfully prayse, alowing it to be verie fyt for the studie of vertue & learning, because of a manlye, rough and stoute sounde in it, whyche shulde encourage yong stomakes, to attempte manlye matters. Nowe whether these balades & roundes, these galiardes, pauanes and daunces, so nicelye fingered, so swetely tuned, be lyker the Musike of the Lydians or the

Dorians, you that be learned iudge. And what so euer ye iudge, this I am sure, yt lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instrumentes euery one, whyche standeth by fine and quicke fingeringe, be codemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in & vsed amonge them, whiche studie for learning and vertue.

Aristot. pol. 8. 6.

Pallas when she had inuented a pipe, cast it away, not so muche sayeth Aristotle, because it deformed her face, but muche rather bycause suche an Instrumente belonged nothing to learnynge. Howe suche Instrumentes agree with learning, the goodlye agreement betwixt Apollo god of learninge, & Marsyas the Satyr, defender of pipinge, doth well declare, where Marsyas had his skine quite pulled ouer his head for his labour.

Muche musike marreth mennes maners, sayth Galen, although some man wil saye that it doth not so, but rather recreateth and maketh quycke a mannes mynde, yet me thinke by reason it doth as hony doth to a mannes stomacke, whiche at the first receyueth it well, but afterwarde it maketh it vnfit, to abyde any good stronge norishynge meate, orels anye holsome sharpe and quicke drinke. And euen so in a maner these Instrumentes make a mannes wit so softe and smoothe so tender and quaisie, that they be lesse able to brooke, stronge and tough studie. Wittes be not sharpened, but rather dulled, and made blunte, wyth suche sweete softenesse, euen as good edges be blonter, whiche menne whette vpon softe chalke stones.

And these thinges to be true, not onely Plato Aristotle & Galen, proue by authoritie of reason, but also Herodotus and other writers, shewe by playne and euident example, as that of Cyrus, whiche after he had ouercome the Lydians, and taken their kinge Cresus prisoner, yet after by the meane of one Pactyas a verye headie manne amonges the Lydians, they rebelled agaynste Cyrus agayne, then Cyrus had by an by, broughte them to vtter destruction, yf Cresus being in good fauour with Cyrus had not hertelie desyred him, not to reuenge Pactyas faulte, in shedynge theyr blood. But if he would folowe his counsell, he myght brynge to passe, that they shoulde neuer more rebel

agaynst hym, And yt was this, to make them weare log kyrtils, to ye foot lyke woomen, and that euerye one of them shoulde haue a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and sing whyche thinge if you do sayth Cresus (as he dyd in dede) you shall se them quickelye of men, made women. And thus lutinge and singinge take awaye a manlye stomake, whiche shulde enter & pearce depe and harde studye.

Euen suche an other storie doeth Nymphodorus an olde greke Historiographer write, of one Sesostris kinge Nymphod. of Egypte, whiche storie because it is somewhat longe, and very lyke in al poyntes to the other and also you do well vnoughe remembre it, seynge you read it so Comment. late in Sophoclis commentaries, I wyll nowe passe in Antig. ouer. Therefore eyther Aristotle and Plato knowe not what was good and euyll for learninge and vertue, and the example of wyse histories be vainlie set afore vs or els the minstrelsie of lutes, pipes, harpes, and all other that standeth by suche nice, fine, minikin fingering (suche as the mooste parte of scholers whom I knowe vse, if they vse any) is farre more fitte for the womannishnesse of it to dwell in the courte among ladies, than for any great thing in it, whiche shoulde helpe good and sad studie, to abide in the vniuersitie amonges scholers. But perhaps you knowe some great goodnesse of suche musicke and suche instrumentes, whervnto Plato & Aristotle his brayne coulde neuer attayne, and therfore I will saye no more agaynst it. PHI. Well Toxophile is it not ynoughe for you to rayle vpon Musike, excepte you mocke me to? but to say the truth I neuer thought my selfe these kindes of musicke fit for learninge, but that whyche I sayde was rather to proue you, than to defende the matter. But yet as I woulde haue this sorte of musicke decaye amonge scholers, euen so do I wysshe from the bottome of my heart, that the laudable custome of Englande to teache chyldren their plainesong and priksong, were not so decayed throughout all the realme as it is. Whiche thing howe profitable it was for all sortes of men, those knewe not so wel than whiche had it most, as they do nowe whiche lacke it moste. And therfore it is true that Teucer sayeth in Sophocles.

Sophocles Seldome at all good thinges be Knowen how good to be in Aiace. Before a man suche thinges do misse out of his handes.

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the bringing vp of children than musike is, both Gallen proueth by authoritie, and dayly vse teacheth by experience. For even the litle babes lacking the vse of reason, are scarse so well stilled in suckyng theyr mothers pap, as in hearynge theyr mother syng. Agayne how fit youth is made, by learning to sing, for grammar and other sciences, bothe we dayly do see, and Plutarch learnedly doth prove, and Plato wiselie did alowe, whiche received no scholer in to his schole, that had not learned his songe before. The godlie vse of praysing God, by singinge in the churche, nedeth not my prayse, seing it is so praysed through al the scripture, therfore nowe I wil speke nothing of it, rather than I shuld speke to litle of it.

Besyde al these commodities, truly .ii. degrees of mēne, which haue the highest offices vnder the king in all this realme, shal greatly lacke the vse of Singinge, preachers and lawiers, bycause they shal not without this, be able to rule their brestes, for euery purpose. For where is no distinction in telling glad thinges and fearfull thinges, gentilnes & cruelnes, softenes and vehementnes, and suche lyke matters, there can be no great perswasion.

For the hearers, as Tullie sayeth, be much affectioned, as he is that speaketh. At his wordes be they drawen, yf he stande still in one facion, their mindes stande still with hym: If he thundre, they quake: If he chyde, they feare: If he coplayne, they sory with hym: and finally, where a matter is spoken, with an apte voyce, for euerye affection, the hearers for the moste parte, are moued as the speaker woulde. But when a man is alwaye in one tune, lyke an Humble bee, or els nowe vp in the top of the churche, nowe downe that no manne knoweth where to haue hym: or piping lyke a reede, or roring lyke a bull, as some lawyers do, whiche thinke they do best, when they crye lowdest, these shall neuer greatly mooue, as I have knowen many wel learned, haue done, bicause theyr voyce was not stayed afore, with learning to synge. For all voyces, great and small, base & shril, weke or softe, may be holpen and brought to a good poynt, by learning to synge.

Whether this be true or not, they that stand mooste in nede, can tell best, whereof some I haue knowen, whiche, because they learned not to sing, whan they were boyes, were fayne to take peyne in it, what they were men. If any man shulde heare me

Toxophile, that woulde thinke I did but fondly, to suppose that a voice were so necessarie to be loked vpon, I would aske him if he thought not nature a foole, for making such goodly instrumentes in a man, for wel vttring his woordes, or els if the .ii. noble orators Demosthenes & Cicero were not fooles, wherof the one dyd not onelie learne to sing of a man: But also was not ashamed to learne howe he shoulde vtter his soudes aptly of a dogge, the other setteth oute no poynte of rhetorike, so fullie in all his bookes, as howe a man shoulde order his voyce for all kynde of matters. Therfore seinge men by speaking, differ and be better than beastes, by speaking wel, better than other men, and that singing is an helpe towarde the same as dayly experience doth teache, example of wyseme doth alowe, authoritie of learned men doth approue wherwith the foundacion of youth in all good common wealthes alwayes hath bene tempered; surelye if I were one of the parliament house, I woulde not fayle, to put vp a bill for the amendment of this thynge, but because I am lyke to be none this yeare, I wil speake no more of it, at this time. TOX. It were pitie truly Philologe, that the thinge shoulde be neglected, but I trust it is not as you say. PHI. The thing is to true, for of them that come daylye to ye vniuersitie, where one hath learned to singe, vi. hath not. But nowe to oure shotinge Toxophile agayne, wherin I suppose you can not say so muche for shotyng to be fitte for learninge, as you have spoken agaynste Musicke for the same.

Therfore as concerning Musike, I can be content to graunt you your mynde: But as for shooting, surely I suppose that you can not perswade me, by no meanes, that a man can be earnest in it, and earnest at his booke to: but rather I thynke that a man wt a bowe on his backe, and shaftes vnder hys girdell, is more fit to wayte vpon Robin Hoode, than vpon Apollo or the Muses. TOX. Ouer ernest shooting surely I will not ouer ernestlye defende, for I euer thought shooting shoulde be a wayter vpon lerning not a mastres ouer learning. Yet this I maruell not a litle at, that ye thinke a man with a bowe on hys backe is more like Robin Hoode seruaut, than Apollose, seing that Apollo him selfe in Alcestis of Euripides, whiche tragidie you red openly not long ago, in a maner glorieth saying this verse.

Euripid. in It is my wont alwaies my bowe with me to beare Akest.

Therfore a learned man ought not to much to be ashamed to beare that some tyme, whiche Apollo god of lerning him selfe was not ashamed always to beare. And bycause ye woulde haue a man wayt vpon the Muses, and not at all medle with shotyng I maruell that you do not remembre howe that the ix. muses their selfe as sone as they were borne, wer put to norse to a lady called Euphemis whiche had a son named Erotus with whome the nine Muses for his excellent shootinge, kepte euer more companie wtall, & vsed dayly to shoote togither in ye mount Pernasus: and at last it chauced this Erotus to dye, whose death the Muses lamented greatly, and fell all vpon theyr knees afore Iupiter theyr father, and at theyr request, Erotus for shooting with the Muses in earth was made a signe, and called Sagittarius in heauen. Therfore you se, that if Apollo and the Muses either were examples in dede, or onelye fayned of wise men to be examples of learninge, honest shoting maye well ynough be companion with honest studie. PHI. Well Toxophile, if you have no stronger defence of shotinge then Poetes, I feare yf your companions which loue shotinge, hearde you, they wolde thinke you made it but a triflyng and fabling matter, rather then any other man that loueth not shotinge coulde be persuaded by this reason to loue it. TOXO. Euen as I am not so fonde but I knowe that these be fables, so I am sure you be not so ignoraunt, but you knowe what suche noble wittes as the Poetes had, ment by such matters: which oftentymes vnder the couering of a fable, do hyde & wrappe in goodlie preceptes of philosophie, with the true iudgement of thinges. Whiche to be true speciallye in Homer and Euripides, Plato, Aristotle and Galene playnelye do shewe: when through all their workes (in a maner) they determine all cotrouersies, by these .ii. Poetes and suche lyke authorities. Therfore if in this matter I seme to fable, and nothynge proue, I am content you iudge so on me: seinge the same iudgement shal condemne with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galene, whom in that errour I am wel content to folowe. If these oulde examples proue nothing for shoting, what saye you to this? that the best learned and sagest men in this Realme, whiche be nowe alyue, both loue shoting and vse shoting, as the best learned bisshoppes that be: amonges whome Philologe, you your selfe knowe .iiii. or .v. which as in all good learning, vertue and sagenesse they gyue other men example what thing they shoulde do, euen so by their shoting, they playnely shewe what honest pastime, other mē giuē to learning, may honestly vse. That ernest studie must be recreated with honest pastime sufficiently I have proued afore, both by reason and authoritie of the best learned men that euer wrote. Then seing pastymes be lefull, the moost fittest for learning, is to be sought for. A pastyme, saith Aristotle, must be lyke a medicine. Medi-Arist. po. 7. cines stande by contraries, therfore the nature of studying considered, the fittest pastyme shal soone appeare. In studie euery parte of the body is ydle, which thing causeth grosse and colde humours, to gather togyther & vexe scholers verye moche, the mynde is altogyther bent and set on worke. pastyme then must be had where every parte of the bodye must be laboured to separate and lessen suche humours withal: the mind must be vnbent, to gather & fetche againe his quicknesse Thus pastymes for the mynde onelye, be nothing fit for studentes, bycause the body which is moost hurte by studie, shulde take away no profyte at all thereat. This knewe Erasmus verye well, when he was here in Cambrige: which when he had ben sore at his boke (as Garret our bookebynder hath verye ofte tolde me) for lacke of better exercise, wolde take his horse, and ryde about the markette hill, and come agayne. If a scholer shoulde vse bowles or tennies, the laboure is to vehement and vnequall, whiche is codempned of Galene: the example very ill for other men, when by so manye actes they be made vnlawfull.

Running, leaping, and coyting be to vile for scholers, and so not fit by Aristotle his iudgement: walking alone into the felde, hath no token of courage in it, a pastyme lyke a simple man which is neither flesh nor fisshe. Therfore if a man woulde haue a pastyme holesome and equall for euerye parte of the bodye, pleasaunt and full of courage for the mynde, not vile and vnhoneste to gyue ill example to laye men, not kepte in gardynes and corners, not lurkynge on the nyght and in holes, but euermore in the face of men, either to rebuke it when it doeth ill, or els to testifye on it when it doth well: let him seke chefelye of all other for shotynge. PHILOL. Suche commune pastymes as men commenlye do vse, I wyll not greatlye allowe to be fit for scholers:

seinge they maye vse suche exercises verye well (I suppose) as Galene him selfe doth allowe. TOXOPH.

Those exercises I remembre verye well, for I fuend. 2.

Gal. de san. tuend. 2.

some be these: to runne vp and downe an hyll, to clyme vp a longe powle, or a rope, and there hange a while, to holde a man by his armes and wave with his heeles, moche lyke the pastyme that boyes vse in the churche whe their master is awaye, to swinge and totter in a belrope: to make a fiste, and stretche out bothe his armes, and so stande lyke a roode. To go on a man his tiptoes, stretching out thone of his armes forwarde, the other backewarde, which if he blered out his tunge also, myght be thought to daunce Anticke verye properlye. To tuble ouer and ouer, to toppe ouer tayle: To set backe to backe, and se who ca heave an other his heles highest, with other moche like: whiche exercises surelye muste nedes be naturall, bycause they be so childisshe, and they may be also holesome for the body: but surely as for pleasure to the minde or honestie in the doinge of them, they be as lyke shotinge as Yorke is foule Sutton. Therfore to loke on all pastymes and exercises holsome for the bodye, pleasaunt for the mynde, comlye for euery man to do, honest for all other to loke on, profitable to be sette by of euerye man, worthie to be rebuked of no man, fit for al ages persos and places, onely shoting shal appeare, wherin all these commodities maye be founde.

PHIL. To graunt Toxophile, that studentes may at tymes convenient vse shoting as moost holsome and honest pastyme: yet to do as some do, to shote hourly daylie, wekelye, and in a maner the hole yere, neither I can prayse, nor any wyse man wyl alowe, nor you your selfe can honestlye defende. TOXOPH. Surely Philologe, I am very glad to se you come to that poynte that moost lieth in your stomake, and greueth you and other so moche. But I truste after I have sayd my mynde in this matter, you shal cofesse your selfe that you do rebuke this thing more that ye nede, rather then you shal fynde that any man may spende by anye possibilittie, more tyme in shotinge then he ought. For first and formoost the hole tyme is deuyded into .ii. partes, the daye and the night: whereof the night maye be both occupyed in many honest businesses, and also spent in moche vnthriftinesse, but in no wise it can be

And here you se that halfe oure tyme, applyed to shoting. graunted to all other thinges in a maner both good and ill, is at one swappe quite taken awaye from shoting. Now let vs go forward, and se how moche of halfe this tyme of ours is spet in shoting. The hole yere is deuided into .iiii. partes, Spring tyme, Somer, faule of the leafe, and winter wherof the whole winter, for the roughnesse of it, is cleane taken away from shoting: except it be one day amonges .xx. or one yeare amonges .xl. In Somer, for the feruent heate, a man maye saye likewyse: except it be somtyme agaynst night. then spring tyme and faule of the leafe be those which we abuse in shoting. But if we consider how mutable & chaungeable the wether is in those seasons, and howe that Aristotle him selfe sayth, that mooste parte of rayne fauleth in these two tymes: we shall well perceyue, that where a man wolde shote one daye, he shall be fayne to leaue of .iiii. Now when tyme it selfe grauteth vs but a litle space to shote in, lette vs se if shoting be not hindered amonges all kyndes of men as moche otherwayes. First, yong childre vse not, yong men for feare of them whom they be vnder to moche dare not: sage men for other greater businesses, wyll not: aged men for lacke of strengthe, can not: Ryche men for couetousnesse sake, care not: poore men for cost and charge, may not: masters for their housholde keping, hede not: seruautes kept in by their maisters very oft, shall not: craftes men for getting of their lyuing, verye moche leysure haue not: and many there be that oft beginnes, but for vnaptnesse proues not: and moost of all, whiche when they be shoters gyue it ouer and lyste not, so that generallye men euerye where for one or other consideration moche shoting vse not. Therfore these two thinges, straytenesse of tyme, and euery man his trade of liuing, are the causes that so fewe men shotes: as you maye se in this greate towne, where as there be a thousande good mens bodies, yet scarse .x. yt vseth any great shoting. And those whome you se shote the moost, with how many thinges are the [y] drawen, or rather driven, fro shoting. For first, as it is many a yere or they begyn to be greate shoters, euen so the greate heate of shotinge is gone within a yere or two: as you knowe diuerse Philologe your selfe, which were sometyme the best shoters, and now they be the best studentes.

If a man faule sycke, farewell shoting, maye fortune as long as he lyueth. If he haue a wrentche, or haue take colde in his arme, he may hang vp his bowe (I warraunt you) for one season. A litle blayne, a small cutte, yea a silie poore worme in his finger, may kepe him from shoting wel ynough. Breaking and ill luck in bowes I wyll passe ouer, with an hudred mo sere thinges, whiche chaunceth euerye daye to them that shote moost, wherof the leest of them may compell a man to leave shoting. And these thinges be so trewe and evident, that it is impossible either for me craftelye to fayne them, or els for you justly to deny the. That seing how many hundred thinges are required altogyther to give a man leave to shote, and any one of the denied, a ma can not shote: and seing euery one of them maye chaunce, and doth chaunce euery day, I meruayle anye wyse man wyll thynke it possible, that any greate tyme can be spent in shoting at all.

PHI. If this be true that you saye Toxophile, and F in very dede I can denye nothinge of it, I meruayle greatly how it chaunceth, that those, whiche vse shoting be so moche marked of men, and ofttymes blamed for it, and yt in a maner as moche as those which pleye at cardes Cardes and dise. And I shal tell you what I hearde spoken

and dyse.

of the same matter. A man no shoter, (not longe agoo) wolde defende playing at cardes & dise, if it were honestly vsed, to be as honest a pastime as youre shotinge: For he layed for him, that a man might pleye for a litle at cardes and dyse, and also a man might shote away all that euer he had. He sayd a payre of cardes cost not past .ii.d. and that they neded not so moche reparation as bowe and shaftes, they wolde neuer hurte a man his hande, nor neuer weare his gere. A man shulde neuer slee a man with shoting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and coulde, they woulde neuer forsake a man, he shewed what great varietie there is in them for euerye mans capacitie: if one game were harde, he myght easelve learne an other: if a man haue a good game, there is greate pleasure in it: if he haue an ill game, the payne is shorte, for he maye soone gyue it ouer, and hope for a better: with many other mo reasons. But at the last he concluded, that betwixt playinge and shoting, well vsed or ill vsed, there was no difference: but that there was lesse coste and trouble, and a greate deale more pleasure in playing, then in shotynge.

TOX. I can not deny, but shoting (as all other good thinges) may be abused. And good thinges vngoodlye vsed, are not good, sayeth an honorable bishoppe in an ernester matter then this is: yet we muste beware that we laye not mennes faultes vpo the thing which is not worthie, for so nothing shulde be good. And as for shoting, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I sayde before) which should be rather a token of honestie to prayse it, then any signe of noughtinesse to disalowe it, and that is bycause it is in euerye man his sight, it seketh no corners, it hydeth it not: if there be neuer so litle fault in it, euerye man seeth it, it accuseth it selfe. For one houre spente in shoting is more sene and further talked of, then .xx. nightes spent in dysing, euen as a litle white stone is sene amonges .iii. hundred blacke. Of those that blame shotinge and shoters, I wyll saye nomore at this tyme but this, that beside that they stoppe and hinder shoting, which the kinges grace wolde haue forwarde, they be not moche vnlyke in this poynt to Wyll' Somer the king his foole, which smiteth him that standeth alwayes before his face, be he neuer so worshipfull a man, and neuer greatly lokes for him whiche lurkes behinde an other man his backe, that hurte him in dede.

But to him that compared gamning with shoting somewhat wyll I answere, and bycause he went afore me in a coparison: and comparisons sayth learned men, make playne matters: I wyl surely folowe him in the same. Honest thynges (sayeth Plato) be knowen from vnhonest thinges, by this difference, vnhonestie hath euer present pleasure in it, hauing neyther good pretence going before, nor yet any profit folowing after; which saying descrybeth generallye, bothe the nature of shooting & gamning whiche is good, and which is euyl, verie well.

Gamninge hath ioyned with it, a vayne presente pleasure, but there followeth, losse of name, losse of goodes, and winning of an hundred gowtie, dropsy diseases, as euery man can tell. Shoting is a peynfull pastime, wherof followeth health of body quiknes of witte, habilitie to defende oure countrye, as our enemies can beare recorde.

Loth I am to compare these thinges togyther, & yet I do it not bicause there is any comparison at al betwixte them, but therby a man shal se how good the one is, howe euil the other.

For I thinke ther is scarse so muche contrariousnes, betwixte hotte and colde, vertue & vice, as is betwixte these .ii. thinges: For what so euer is in the one, the cleane contrarye is in the other, as shall playnlye appere, if we consider, bothe theyr beginnynges, theyr encreasynges, theyr fructes, and theyr endes, whiche I wyl soone rydde ouer.

■ The fyrste brynger in to the worlde of shootynge, was Apollo, whiche for his wisdome, & great com-Pla. i symp. modities, brought amonges men by him, was estemed worthie, to be counted as a God in heauen. Disyng surely is a bastarde borne, because it is said to haue .ii. fathers, and yet bothe noughte: The one was an vngracious God, Plato called Theuth, which for his noughtines, came In Phedro. neuer in other goddes companyes, and therfore Homer doth despise onse to name him, in all his workes. The other father was a Lydian borne, whiche people Herodot. in for suche gamnes, and other vnthriftines, as Clio. boowlyng and hauntyng of tauernes, haue bene euer had in most vile reputation, in all storyes and writers.

The Fosterer vp of shoting is Labour, ye companion of vertue, the maynteyner of honestie, the encreaser of health and welthinesse, whiche admytteth nothinge in a maner in to his companye, that standeth not, with vertue and honestie, and therefore sayeth the oulde poete Epicharmus very pretelye in Xenophon, that God selleth vertue, & all other Xen. de dict. good thinges to men for labour. The Nource of & fact. Soc. dise and cardes, is werisom Ydlenesse, enemy of vertue, ye drowner of youthe, that tarieth in it, and as Chauser doth saye verie well in the Parsons tale, the greene path waye to hel, havinge this thing appropriat vnto it, that where as other vices haue some cloke of honestie, onely ydlenes can neyther do wel, nor yet thinke wel. Agayne, shooting hath two Tutours to looke vpon it, out of whose companie, shooting neuer stirreth, the one called Daye light, ye other Open place, whyche .ii. keepe shooting from euyl companye, and suffers it not to haue to much swinge, but euermore kepes it vnder awe, that it darre do nothyng in the open face of the worlde, but that which is good and honest. Lykewyse, dysinge and cardynge, haue .ii. Tutours, the one named Solitariousenes, whyche lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night an vngratiouse couer of noughtynesse, whyche two thynges be very Inkepers & receyvuers of all noughtynesse and noughtye thinges, and therto they be in a maner, ordeyned by Nature. For on the nighte tyme & in corners, Spirites and theues, rattes and mise, toodes and oules, nyghtecrowes and poulcattes, foxes and foumerdes, with all other vermine, and noysome beastes, vse mooste styrringe, when in the daye lyght, and in open places whiche be ordeyned of God for honeste thynges, they darre not ones come, whiche thinge Euripides noted verye well, sayenge.

Il thinges the night, good thinges the daye doth haunt & vse. Iphi. I Tau.

Companions of shoting, be prouidens, good heed giuing, true meatinge, honest comparison, whyche thinges agree with vertue very well. Cardinge and dysinge, haue a sorte of good felowes also, goynge commonly in theyr companye, as blynde Fortune, stumbling chaunce, spittle lucke, false dealyng, crafty conueyaunce, braynlesse brawlynge, false forswerynge, whiche good feloes wyll sone take a man by the sleue, and cause him take his Inne, some wt beggerye, some wyth goute & dropsie, some with thefte and robbery, & seldome they wyl leaue a man before he comme eyther to hangyng or els somme other extreme misery. To make an ende, howe shoting by al mennes lawes hath bene alowed, cardyng and dysing by al mennes iudgementes condemned, I nede not shewe the matter is so playne.

Therfore, whan the Lydians shall inuent better thinges than Apollo, when slothe and ydlenes shall encrease vertue more than labour, whan the nyghte and lurking corners, giueth lesse occasion to vnthriftinesse, than lyght daye and opennes, than shal shotynge and suche gamninge, be in sume comparison lyke. Yet euen as I do not shewe all the goodnes, whiche is in shotynge, whan I proue it standeth by the same thinges that vertue it selfe standeth by, as brought in by God, or Godlyelyke men, fostered by labour, committed to the sauegarde of lyght and opennes, accompanied with prouision and diligens, loued and allowed by euery good mannes sentence, Euen lykewyse do I not open halfe the noughtines whiche is in cardyng & dising, whan I shewe howe they are borne of a desperate mother, norished in ydlenes, encresed by licence of nyght and corners,

accompanied wyth Fortune, chaunce, deceyte, & craftines: condemned and banished, by all lawes & iudgementes.

For if I woulde enter, to descrybe the monstruousenes of it, I shoulde rather wander in it, it is so brode, than haue any readye passage to the ende of the matter: whose horriblenes is so large, that it passed the eloquence of oure Englyshe Homer, to compasse it: yet because I euer thought hys sayinges to haue as muche authoritie, as eyther Sophocles or Euripides in Greke, therfore gladly do I remembre these verses of hys.

Hasardry is Very mother of lesinges, And of deceyte, and cursed sweringes, Blasphemie of Ch[r]ist, manslaughter, and wwaste also, Of catel of tyme, of other thynges mo.

Mother of lesinges) trulye it maye well be called so, if a man consydre howe manye wayes, and how many thinges, he loseth thereby, for firste he loseth his goodes, he loseth his tyme, he loseth quycknes of wyt, and all good lust to other thinges, he loseth honest companye, he loseth his good name and estimation, and at laste, yf he leaue it not, loseth God, & heauen and all: and in stede of these thinges winneth at length,

eyther hangyng or hell.

¶ And of deceyte) I trowe if I shoulde not lye, there is not halfe so muche crafte vsed in no one thinge in the worlde, as in this cursed thynge. What false dise vse they? as dise stopped with quicksiluer and heares, dise of a vauntage, flattes, gourdes to chop and chaunge whan they lyste, to lette the trew dise fall vnder the table, & so take vp the false, and if they be true dise, what shyfte wil they make to set ye one of them with slyding, with cogging, with foysting, with coytinge as they call it. Howe wyll they use these shiftes, whan they get a playne man that can no skyll of them? Howe will they go about, yf they perceyue an honest man haue money, which list not playe, to prouoke him to playe? They wyl seke his company, they wil let hym paye nought, yea and as I hearde a man ones saye that he dyd, they wil send for hym to some house & spend perchaunce, a crown on him, and at last wyll one begin to saye: what my masters, what shall we do? shall euerye man playe his .xii. d. whyles an apple roste in the fyre, and than we wyll drinke & departe: Naye wyl an other saye, as false as he, you

can not leaue whan you begyn, and therfore I wyll not playe: but yet yf you wyll gage, that euery man as he hath lost his .xii. d. shall sit downe, I am content, for surely I woulde winne no mannes money here, but euen as much as wolde paye for mye supper. Than speketh the thyrde, to the honest man that thought not to playe, what wylle you playe your .xii. pence if he excuse hym, tush man wyll the other saye, sticke not in honest company for xii. d. I wyll beare your halfe, and here is my mony.

Nowe all this is to make him to beginne, for they knowe if he be ones in, and be a looser, yt he wyl not sticke at his .xii. d. but hopeth euer to gette it agayne, whiles perhaps, he loose all. Than euery one of them setteth his shiftes abroche, some wt false dise, some wyth settynge of dyse, some with hauinge outelandishe syluer coynes guylded, to put away at a tyme for good gold. Than yf ther come a thing in controuersie, muste you be iudged by the table, and than farewell the honest man

hys parte, for he is borne downe on euerye syde.

Nowe sir, besyde all these thinges they have certayne termes, as a man woulde saye, appropriate to theyr playing: wherby they wyl drawe a mannes money, but paye none, whiche they cal barres, that surely he that knoweth them not, maye soone be debarred of all that euer he hath, afore he lerne them. Yf a playne man lose, as he shall do euer, or els it is a wonder, than the game is so deuilysh, that he can neuer leaue: For vayn hope (which hope sayth Euripides, destroyeth many

a man and Citie) dryueth hym on so farre, that he can neuer retourne backe, vntyl he be so lyght, that he nede feare no theues by the waye. Nowe if a simple man happen onse in his lyfe, to win of suche players, than will they eyther entreate him to kepe them company whyles he hath lost all agayne, or els they will vse the moste dyuellyshe fashion of all, For one of the players that standeth nexte him, shall haue a payre of false dise, and cast them out vpon the bourde, the honest man shall take them & cast them, as he did the other, the thirde shall espye them to be false dise, and shall crye oute, haroe, wyth all the othes vnder God, that he hath falselye wonne theyr moneye, and than there is nothynge but houlde thy throte from my dagger, than euery man layeth hande on the simple man, and taketh all theyr moneye from

him, and his owne also, thinking himselfe wel, that he scapeth with his lyfe.

Cursed swerying, blasphemie of Christe.) These halfe verses Chaucer in an other place, more at large doth well set out, and verye liuely expresse, sayinge.

Ey by goddes precious hert and his nayles
And by the blood of Christe, that is in Hales,
Seuen is my chaunce, and thine is sinke and treye,
Ey goddes armes, if thou falsly playe,
This dagger shall thorough thine herte go
This frute commeth of the beched boones twoo
Forsweringe, Ire, falsnes and Homicide. &c.

Thoughe these verses be very ernestlie wrytten, yet they do not halfe so grisely sette out the horyblenes of blasphemy, which suche gamners vse, as it is in dede, and as I have hearde my selfe. For no man can wryte a thing so earnestlye, as whan it is spoke wyth iesture, as learned men you knowe do saye. Howe will you thinke that suche furiousenes wyth woode countenaunces, and brenning eyes, with staringe and bragging, with heart redie to leape out of the belly for swelling, can be expressed ye tenth part, to the attermost. Two men I herd my selfe, whose sayinges be far more grisely, than Chaucers verses. One, whan he had lost his moneye, sware me God, from top to toe with one breath, that he had lost al his money for lacke of sweringe: The other, losyng his money, and heaping othes vpon othes, one in a nothers necke, moost horrible & not spekeable, was rebuked of an honest man whiche stode, by for so doynge, he by and by starynge him in the face, and clappyng his fiste with all his moneye he had, vpon the boorde, sware me by the flesshe of God, that yf sweryng woulde helpe him but one ace, he woulde not leue one pece of god vnsworne, neyther wythin nor without. The remembrauce of this blasphemy Philologe, doth make me quake at the hart, & therefore I wyll speake no more of it.

And so to conclude wyth suche gamnying, I thynke there is no vngraciousenes in all thys worlde, that carieth so far from god, as thys faulte doth. And yf there were anye so desperate a persone, that woulde begynne his hell here in earth, I trowe he shoulde not fynde hell more lyke hell it selfe, then the lyfe

of those men is which dayly haunt and vse suche vngracious games. PHIL. You handle this gere in dede: And I suppose if ye had ben a prentice at suche games, you coulde not haue sayd more of them then you have done, and by lyke you have had TOX. In dede, you may somwhat to do with them. honestlye gather that I hate them greatly, in that I speake agaynst them: not that I have vsed them greatlye, in that I speake of them. For thynges be known dyuerse wayes, as Socrates (you knowe) doeth proue in Alcibiades. And if euery man shulde be that, that he speaketh or wryteth vpo, then shulde Homer haue bene the best capitayne, moost cowarde, hardye, hasty, wyse and woode, sage and simple: And Terence an ouldeman & a yong, an honest man and a bawde: with suche lyke. Surelye euerye man ought to praye to God dayly, to kepe them fro suche unthriftynesse, and specially all the youth of Englande: for what youth doth begynne, a man wyll

Euripides in suppli. folowe comonlye, euen to his dyinge daye: whiche thinge Adrastus in Euripides pretelye doth expresse, sayinge.

VV hat thing a man in tender age hath most in wre That same to death alwayes to kepe he shal he sure Therfore in age who greatly longes good frute to mowe In youth he must him selfe aplye good seede to sowe.

For the foundation of youth well sette (as Plato doth saye) the whole bodye of the commune wealth shal floryshe therafter. If the yonge tree growe croked, when it is oulde, a man shal rather breake it that strength it. And I thinke there is no one thinge yt crokes youth more then suche vnlefull games. let no mā say, if they be honestly vsed they do no harme. how can that pastyme whiche neither exerciseth the bodye with any honest labour, nor yet the minde with any honest thinking, haue any honestie ioyned with it. Nor let noman assure hym selfe that he can vse it honestlye: for if he stande therein, he may fortune haue a faule, the thing is more slipperye then he knoweth of. A man maye (I graunt) syt on a brante hyll syde, but if he gyue neuer so lytle forwarde, he can not stoppe though he woulde neuer so fayne, but he must nedes runne heedling, he knoweth not how farre. What honest pretences, vayne pleasure layeth dayly (as it were entisemetes or baytes, to pull

men forwarde withall) Homer doeth well shewe, by the Sirenes, and Circes. And amonges all in that shyp there was but one Vlysses, and yet he hadde done to as the other dyd, yf a goddesse had not taught hym: And so lykewyse I thinke, they be easye to numbre, whiche passe by playing honestlye, excepte the grace of God saue and kepe them. Therfore they that wyll not go to farre in playing, let them followe this cousell of the Poete.

Stoppe the begynninges.

PHILOLO. Well, or you go any further, I pray you tell me this one thing: Doo ye speake agaynste meane mennes playinge onelye, or agaynste greate mennes playinge to, or put you anye difference betwixte them? TOXOPHI. If I shulde excuse my selfe herein, and saye that I spake of the one, and not of the other, I feare leaste I shoulde as fondlye excuse my selfe, as a certayne preacher dyd, whome I hearde vpon a tyme speake agaynste manye abuses, (as he sayde) and at last he spake agaynst candelles, and then he fearynge, least some men woulde haue bene angrye and offended with him, nave sayeth he, you must take me as I meane: I speake not agaynst greate candelles, but agaynst lytle candels, for they be not all one (q he) I promyse you: And so euerye man laughed him to scorne.

In dede as for greate men, and greate mennes matters, I lyst not greatlye to meddle. Yet this I woulde wysshe that all great men in Englande had red ouer diligentlye the Pardoners tale in Chaucer, and there they should perceyue and se, howe moche suche games stande with theyr worshyppe, howe great soeuer they be. What great men do, be it good or yll, meane men communelye loue to followe, as many learned men in many places do saye, and daylye experience doth playnelye shewe, in

costlye apparell and other lyke matters.

Therfore, seing that Lordes be lanternes to leade the lyfe of meane men, by their example, eyther to goodnesse or badnesse, to whether soeuer they liste: and seinge also they haue libertie to lyste what they will, I pray God they haue will to list that which is good, and as for their playing, I wyll make

an ende with this saying of Chaucer.

Lordes might finde them other maner of pleye Honest ynough to drive the daye awaye.

Toxophilus. A.

30

But to be shorte, the best medicine for all sortes of men both high and lowe, yonge and oulde, to put awaye suche vnlawfull games is by the contrarye, lykewyse as all physicions do alowe in physike. So let youthe in steade of suche vnlefull games, whiche stande by ydlenesse, by solitarinesse, and corners, by night and darkenesse, by fortune & chaunce, by crafte and subtiltie, vse suche pastimes as stand by labour: vpon the daye light, in open syght of men, hauynge suche an ende as is come to by coning, rather then by crafte: and so shulde vertue encrease, and vice decaye. For contrarye pastimes, must nedes worke contrary mindes in men, as all other contrary thinges doo.

And thus we se Philologe, that shoting is not onely the moost holesome exercise for the bodye, the moost honest pastime for the mynde, and that for all sortes of men: But also it is a moost redy medicine, to purge the hole realme of suche pestilent gamning, wherw many tymes it is sore troubled and ill at ease.

PHI. The more honestie you have proved by shoting Toxophile, and the more you have perswaded me to love it, so moche truly the soryer haue you made me with this last sentence of yours, wherby you plainly proue that a man maye not greatly vse it. For if shoting be a medicine (as you saye that it is) it maye not be vsed very oft, lest a man shuld hurt him selfe with all, as medicines moche occupyed doo. For Aristotle him selfe sayeth, that medicines be no meate to lyue withall: and thus shoting by the same reason, maye not be moche occupyed. TOX. You playe your oulde wontes Philologe, in dalying with other mens wittes, not so moche to proue youre owne matter, as to proue what other me can say. But where you thinke that I take awaye moche vse of shoting, in lykening it to a medicine: bycause men vse not medicines euery daye, for so shoulde their bodyes be hurt: I rather proue daylye vse of For although Aristotle sayeth that some shoting therby. medicines be no meate to lyue withall, whiche is true: Yet Hippocrates sayth that our daylye meates be

Hippo. de med. purg. medicines, to withstande euyll withall, whiche is as true. For he maketh two kyndes of medicines, one our meate that we vse dailye, whiche purgeth softlye and slowlye, and in this similitude maye shoting be called a medicine,

wherwith dayly a man maye purge and take away al vnlefull desyres to other vnlefull pastymes, as I proued before. The other is a quicke purging medicine, and seldomer to be occupyed, excepte the matter be greater, and I coulde describe the nature of a quicke medicine, which should within a whyle purge and plucke oute all the vnthriftie games in the Realme, through which the commune wealth oftentymes is sycke. For not onely good quicke wittes to learnyng be thereby brought out of frame, and quite marred: but also manlye wittes, either to attempt matters of high courage in warre tyme, or els to atcheue matters of weyght and wisdome in peace tyme, be made therby very quaisie and faynt. For loke throughoute all histories written in Greke, Latyne, or other language, and you shal neuer finde that realme prosper in the whiche suche ydle pastymes are vsed. As concerning the medicyne, although some wolde be miscontent, if they hearde me meddle anye thynge with it: Yet betwixte you and me here alone, I maye the boldlyer saye my fantasie, and the rather bycause I wyll onelye wysh for it, whiche standeth with honestie, not determyne of it which belongeth to authoritie. The medicine is this, that wolde to God and the kynge, all these vnthriftie ydle pastymes, whiche be very bugges, that the Psalme meaneth on, walking on the nyght and in Psalm. 90. corners, were made felonye, and some of that punyshment ordeyned for them, which is appoynted for the forgers and falsifyers of the kynges coyne. Which punishment is not by me now invented, but longe agoo, by Demost. cōthe mooste noble oratour Demosthenes: which tra Leptinë. meruayleth greatly that deathe is appoynted for falsifyers and forgers of the coyne, and not as greate punyshmente ordeyned for them, whiche by theyr meanes forges and falsifyes the commune wealthe. And I suppose that there is no one thyng that chaungeth sooner the golden and syluer wyttes of men into copperye & brassye wayes then dising and suche vnlefull pastymes.

And this quicke medicine I beleue wolde so throwlye pourge them, that the daylye medicines, as shoting and other pastymes ioyned with honest labour shoulde easelyer withstande them. PHIL. The excellent commodityes of shotynge in peace tyme, Toxophile, you have very wel and sufficiently declared. Wherby you have so persuaded me, that God wyllyng hereafter I wyll both loue it the better, and also vse it the ofter. For as moche as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tunge, the nose, the handes and the feete be no fytter membres, or instrumentes for the body of a man, then is shotinge for the hole bodye of the realme. God hath made the partes of men which be best and moost neccessarye, to serue, not for one purpose onelye, but for manye: as the tungue for speaking and tasting, the nose for smelling, and also for auoyding of all excremetes, which faule oute of the heed, the handes for receyuynge of good thinges, and for puttyng of all harmefull thinges, from the bodye. So shotinge is an exercyse of healthe, a pastyme of honest pleasure, and suche one also that stoppeth or auoydeth all noysome games gathered and encreased by ill rule, as noughtye humours be, whiche hurte and corrupte sore that parte of the realme, wherin they do remayne.

But now if you can shewe but halfe so moche profyte in warre of shotynge, as you have proved pleasure in peace, then wyll I surelye judge that there be fewe thinges that have so manifolde commodities, and vses joyned vnto them as it hath.

TOX. The vpperhande in warre, nexte the goodnesse of God (of whome al victorie commeth, as scripture sayth) standeth chefelye in thre thinges: in the wysedome of the Prince, in the sleyghtes and pollicies of the capitaynes, and in the strength and cherefull forwardnesse of the souldyers. A Prince in his herte must be full of mercy and peace, a vertue moost pleasaunt to Christ, moost agreable to mans nature, moost profytable for ryche and poore.

For that the riche man enioyeth with great pleasure that which he hath: the poore may obtayne with his labour, that which he lacketh. And although there is nothing worse then war, wherof it taketh his name, through the which great men be in daunger, meane men without succoure, ryche men in feare, bycause they haue somwhat: poore men in care, bycause they haue nothing: And so euery man in thought and miserie: Yet it is a ciuill medicine, wherewith a prince maye from the bodye of his commune wealth, put of that daunger whiche maye faule: or elles recouer agayne, whatsoeuer it hath lost. And therfore as Isocrates doth saye, a prince must be

therfore as Isocrates doth saye, a prince must be a warriour in two thinges, in conninge and know-

ledge of all sleyghtes and feates of warre, and in hauing al necessarye habilimentes belongyng to the same. Whiche matter to entreate at large, were ouerlonge at this tyme to declare, &

ouermoche for my learning to perfourme.

After the wisdome of the prince, are valiaunt capitaynes moost necessary in warre, whose office and dutye is to knowe all sleightes and pollicies for all kyndes of warre, which they maye learne .ii. wayes, either in daylye following and haunting the warres or els bicause wisdome bought with strypes, is many tymes ouercostlye: they maye bestowe some tyme in Vegetius, which entreateth suche matters in Latin metelye well, or rather in Polyenus, and Leo the Emperour, which setteth out al pollicies and duties of capitaynes in the Greke tunge very excellentlye. But chefely I wolde wisshe and (if I were of authoritie) I wolde counsel al the yong gentlemen of this realme, neuer to lay out of theyr handes .ii. authors Xenophon in Greke, and Cesar in Latyn, where in they shulde followe noble Scipio Africanus, as Tullie doeth saye: In whiche .ii. authours, besydes eloquence a thing moste necessary of all other, for a captayne, they shuld learne the hole course of warre, whiche those .ii. noble menne dyd not more wyselye wryte for other men to learne, than they dyd manfully excercise in the fyelde, for other men to folowe.

The strengthe of war lyeth in the souldier, whose chyefe

prayse and vertue, is obedience towarde his captayne, sayth Plato. And Xenophon being a gentyle authour, moste christianlye doeth saye, guan by these woordes that that souldyer which a

Obedience. Plat. leg. 12. Xen. Ages.

euen by these woordes, that that souldyer whiche firste serueth god, & than obeyeth hys captayne, maye boldelie with all courage, hope to ouerthrowe his enemy. Agayne, wout obedience, neither valiant man, stout horse, nor goodly harnes doth any good at al. Which obedience of ye souldier toward his captane, brought the hole empyre of ye worlde, into the Romanes hades, & whan it was brought, kepte it lenger, than euer it was kept in any comon welth before or after.

And this to be true, Scipio Africanus, the moste noble captayne that euer was amonge the Romaynes, shewed very playnly, what tyme as he went in to Afryke, to destroye Cartage. For he restinge hys hooste by

the waye in Sicilie, a daye or twoo, and at a tyme standing with a great man of Sicilie, and looking on his souldiers howe they exercised them selues in kepyng of araye, and other feates, the gentleman of Sicilie asked Scipio, wherein laye hys chyefe hope to ouercome Cartage: He answered, in yonder feloes of myne, whom you se play: And why sayth the other, bycause sayeth Scipio, that if I comaunded them to runne in to the toppe of this high castel, and cast them selues doune backeward vpon these rockes, I am sure the[y] woulde do it.

Salust also doth write, yt there were mo Romanes put to death of theyr captaynes for setting on theyr Sal. in. Cat. enemyes before they had licence, than were for running away out of the fyelde, before they had foughten. These two examples do proue, that amonges the Romaynes, the obedience of the souldyer was wonderfull great, and the seueritie of the Captaynes, to se the same kepte wonderfull strayte. For they wel perceyued that an hoste full of obedyence, falleth as seldome into the handes of theyr enemies as that bodye fawleth into Jeoperdye, the whiche is ruled by reason. Reason and Rulers beynge lyke in offyce, (for the one ruleth the body of man, the other ruleth the bodye of the comon wealthe) ought to be lyke of condicions, and oughte to be obeyed in all maner of matters. Obedience is nourysshed by feare and loue, Feare is kepte in by true iustice and equitie, Loue is gotten by wisdome, ioyned wt liberalitie: For where a souldyer seeth ryghteousenesse so rule, that a man can neyther do wronge nor yet take wronge, and that his capitayne for his wysedome, can mayntayne hym, & for his liberalitie will mayntayne him, he must nedes both loue him & feare him, of the whiche procedeth true & vnfayned obedience. After this inwarde vertue, the nexte good poynt in a souldier, is to haue and to handle his weapo wel, whereof the one must be at the appoyntment of the captayne, the other lyeth in the courage and exercise of the souldier: yet of al weapos the best is, as Euripides doth say, wherwt with leest dauger of In Herc. fu. our self we maye hurt our enemye moost. And that is (as I suppose) artillarie. Artillarie now a dayes is taken for .ii. thinges: Gunnes & Bowes, which how moch they do in war, both dayly experience doeth teache, and also Peter Nānius a learned man of Louayn, in a certayne dialoge doth very well

set out, wherin this is most notable, that when he hath shewed excedyng commodities of both, and some discomodities of gunnes, as infinite cost and charge, combersome carriage: and yf they be greate, the vncertayne leuelyng, the peryll of them that stand by them, the esyer auoydyng by them that stande far of: & yf they be lytle, the lesse both feare and leoperdy is in them, besyde all contrary wether and wynde, whiche hyndereth them not a lytle: yet of all shotyng he can not reherse one discommoditie. PHI. That I meruayle greatly at, seing Nannius is so well learned, & so exercised in the authours of both the tuges: for I my selfe do remembre that shotying in war is but smally praysed, and that of diuers captaynes in dyuers authors. For first in Euripides (whom you so highly prayse) and very well, for Tullie thynketh euerye verse in him to be an authoritie, what I praye you, doth Lycus that ouercame Thebes, say as concernyng shoting? whose words as farre as I remembre, be these, or not muche vnlyke.

What prayse hath he at al, whiche neuer durst abide,
The dint of a speares poynt thrust against his side
Nor neuer bouldlie buckeler bare yet in his lefte hande
Face to face his enemies bront stiffelie to wythstande,
But alwaye trusteth to a bowe and to a fethered sticke
Harnes euer most fit for him which to flie is quicke,
Bowe and shafte is Armoure metest for a cowarde
Which dare not ones abide the bronte of battel sharpe & harde.
But he a man of manhode most is by mine assent
Which with harte and corage boulde, fullie hath him bent,
His enemies looke in euery stoure floutelie to a bide,
Face to face, and fote to fote, tide what maye be tide.

Agayne Teucer the best Archer amonges all the Grecians, in Sophocles is called of Menelaus, a boweman, & a shooter as in villaynie and reproche, to be a thing of no price in warre. Moreouer Pandar the best shooter in the worlde, whome Apollo hym selfe taught to shoote, bothe he and his shotynge is quyte contemned in Homer, in so much that Homer (which vnder a made fable doth alwayes hyde hys iudgement of thinges) doeth make Pandarus him selfe crye out of shooting, and cast his bowe awaye, and take him to a speare,

makynge a vowe that if euer he came home, he woulde breake his shaftes, & burne his bowe, lamentyng greatly, that he was so fonde to leaue at home his horse and charyot wyth other weapons, for the trust yt he had in his bowe. Homer signifieng therby, that men shoulde leue shoting out of warre, and take them to other wepons more fitte and able for the same, and I trowe Pandarus woordes be muche what after thys sorte.

Ill chaunce ill lucke me hyther broughte
Ill fortune me that daye befell,
Whan first my bowe fro the pynne I roughte
For Hectors sake, the Grekes to quell.
But yf that God so for me shap
That home agayne I maye ones come,
Let me neuer inioye that hap,
Nor euer twyse looke on the sonne,
If bowe and shaftes I do not burne
Whyche nowe so euel doth serue my turne.

But to let passe al Poetes, what can be sorer said agaynst any thing, than the judgement of Cyrus is agaynst shotynge, whiche doth cause his Persians beyng the best Xen. Cyri shooters to laye awaye theyr bowes and take them Inst. 6. to sweardes and buckelers, speares and dartes, and other lyke hande weapons. The which thing Xenophon so wyse a philosopher, so experte a captayne in warre hym selfe, woulde neuer haue written, and specially in that booke wherin he purposed to shewe, as Tullie sayeth in dede, not the true historie, but the example of a perfite wise prince Epist. 1. ad and comon welthe, excepte that iudgement of Q. Fra. chaugyng Artillerie, in to other wepons, he had alwayes thought best to be followed, in all warre. counsell the Parthians dyd folowe, whan they Plutarch chased Antonie ouer the moutaines of Media, M. Ant. whiche being the best shoters of the worlde, lefte theyr bowes, and toke them to speares and morispikes. And these fewe examples I trowe, of the best shooters, do well proue that the best shotinge is not the best thinge as you

call it in warre. TOX. As concernynge your first example, taken oute of Euripides, I maruayle you wyl bring it for ye

disprayse of shotyng, seyng Euripides doth make those verses, not bicause he thinketh the true, but bicause he thinketh them fit for the person that spake them. For in dede his true iudgement of shoting, he doth expresse by & by after in the oratio of the noble captaine Amphytrio agaynste Lycus, wherein a man maye doubte, whether he hath more eloquentlye confuted Lycus sayenge, or more worthelye sette oute the prayse of shootynge. And as I am aduised, his woordes be muche hereafter as I shall saye.

Against the wittie gifte of shotinge in a bowe Eurip. in Fonde and leude woordes thou leudlie doest out throwe, Herc. fur. Whiche, if thou wilte heare of me a woorde or twayne Quicklie thou mayst learne howe fondlie thou doest blame, Firste he that with his harneis him selfe doth wal about, That scarce is lefte one hole through which he may pepe out, Such bondmen to their harneis to fight are nothinge mete But sonest of al other are troden under fete. If he be stronge, his felouves faynt, in whome he putteth his trust, So loded with his harneis must nedes lie in the dust, Nor yet fro death he can not starte, if ones his weapon breke, Howe stoute, howe strong, howe great, howe longe, so euer be suche a freke. But who so euer can handle a bowe sturdie stiffe and stronge Wherwith lyke hayle manie shaftes be shootes into the thickest thronge: This profite he takes, that standing a far his enemie he maye spill Whan he and his full safe shall stande out of all daunger and ill. And this in War is wisedome moste, which workes our enemies woo. Whan we shal be far from all feare and icoperdie of our foo.

Secondarily euen as I do not greatly regarde what Menelaus doth say in Sophocles to Teucer, bycause he spake it bothe in anger, and also to hym that he hated, euen so doo I remembre very well in Homer, that when Hector and the Troians woulde

haue set fyre on the greke shippes, Teucer with his bowe made them recule backe agayne, when Menelaus tooke hym to his feete, and ranne awaye.

Thirdlye as concerning Pandarus, Homer doth not disprayse the noble gyfte of shotynge, but therby euery man is taught, that whatsoeuer, and how good soeuer a weapon a man doth vse in war, yf he be hym selfe a couetouse wretche, a foole wythoute counsell, a peacebreaker as Pandarus was, at last he shall throughe the punishment of God fall into his enemyes handes, as Pandarus dydde, whome Diomedes

throughe the helpe of Minerua miserablye slue.

And bycause you make mencion of Homer, & Troye matters, what can be more prayse for anye thynge, I praye you, than that is for shootyng, that Troye coulde neuer be destroyed without the helpe of Hercules shaftes, whiche thinge doeth signifie, that although al the worlde were gathered in an army togyther, yet without shotinge they can neuer come to theyr purpose, as Vlysses in Sophocles very plainlye doth saye vnto Pyrrhus, as concernyng Hercules shaftes to be caried vnto Troye.

Soph. phil. Nor you without them, nor without you they do ought.

Fourthlye where as Cyrus dyd chaunge parte of his bowemen, wherof he had plentie, into other mē of warre, wherof he lacked, I will not greatlye dispute whether Cyrus did well in that poynt in those dayes or no, bycause it is not playne in Xenophon howe strong shooters the Persians were, what bowes they had, what shaftes and heades they occupyed, what kynde of warre theyr enemies vsed.

But trulye as for the Parthians, it is playne, in Plutarche, that in chaungyng theyr bowes in to speares, they brought theyr selfe into vtter destruction. For when they had chased the Romaynes many a myle, through reason of theyr bowes, at the last the Romaynes ashamed of their fleing, and remembrynge theyr owlde noblenesse and courage, ymagined thys waye, that they woulde kneele downe on theyr knees, and so couer all theyr body wyth theyr shyldes and targattes, that the Parthians shaftes might slyde ouer them, & do them no harme, whiche thing when the

Partias perceyued, thinking that ye Romaynes were forweryed with laboure, watche, and hugre: they layed downe their bowes, and toke speres in their handes, and so ranne upon them: but the Romaynes perceyuinge them without their bowes, rose vp manfully, and slewe them euery mother son, saue a fewe that saued them selues with runnyng awaye. And herein our archers of Englande far passe the Parthians, which for suche a purpose, whe they shall come to hande strokes, hath euer redy, eyther at his backe hangyng, or els in his next felowes hande a leade maule, or suche lyke weapon, to beate downe his enemyes withall. PHI. Well Toxophile, seinge that those examples whiche I had thought to haue ben cleane agaynst shoting, you have thus turned to the hygh prayse of shotinge: and all this prayse that you have now sayd on it, is rather come in by me tha sought for of you: let me heare I praye you nowe, those examples whiche you have marked of shotyng your selfe: whereby you are, and thinke to persuade other, yt shoting is so good in warre. TOX. Exaples surely I have marked very many: fro the begynning of tyme had in memorie of wrytyng, throughout all comune wealthes, & Empires of the worlde: wherof the mooste part I wyll passe ouer, lest I shoulde be tediouse: yet some I wyll touche, bycause they be notable, bothe for me to tell and you to heare.

And bycause the storye of the Iewes is for the tyme moost auncient, for the truthe mooste credible, it shalbe moost fitte to begynne with them. And although I knowe that God is the onely gyuer of victorie, and not the weapons, for all strength and victorie (sayth Iudas Machabeus) cometh from Mach. 1. 3. heauen: Yet surely strong weapons be the instrumentes wherwith god doth ouercome yt parte, which he wil haue ouerthrowen. For God is well pleased wyth wyse and wittie feates of warre: As in metinge of enemies, for truse takyng, to haue privilye in a bushment harnest men layd for feare of treason, as Iudas Machabeus dyd wyth Mach. 2. 14. Nicanor Demetrius capitayne: And to haue engines of warre to beat downe cities with all: and to haue scoutwatche amoges our enemyes to knowe their counsayles, as the noble captaine Ionathas brother to Iudas Mach. 1. 12. Machabeus did in the countrie of Amathie against the mighty hoste of Demetrius. And besyde al this, god is pleased to have goodly tombes for them which do noble feates in warre, and to have their ymages made, and also their cote Armours to be set aboue theyr tombes, to Mach. 1. 13. their perpetual laude and memorie: as the valiaunt capitayne Symon, dyd cause to be made for his brethren Iudas Machabeus and Ionathas, whe they were slayne of the Getiles. And thus of what authoritie feates of warre, and strong weapons be, shortly and playnelye we maye learne: But amonges the Iewes as I began to tell, I am sure there was nothing so occupyed, or dydde so moche good as bowes dyd: insomoche that when the Iewes had any great vpperhande ouer the Gentiles, the fyrste thinge alwayes that the captayne dyd, was to exhort the people to gyue all the thankes to God for the victorye, & not to theyr bowes, wherwith they Josue. 23. had slayne their enemyes: as it is playne that the noble Iosue dyd after so many kynges thrust downe by hym. God, when he promyseth helpe to the Iewes, he vseth no kynde of speakyng so moche as this, that he wyll bende his bowe, and die his shaftes in the Gentiles blood: Deutero. 32. whereby it is manifest, that eyther God wyll make the Iewes shoote stronge shotes to ouerthrowe their enemies: or at leeste that shotinge is a woderful mightie thing in warre, whervnto ye hygh power of God is lykened. Dauid in the Psalmes calleth bowes the vessels of death, Psal. 7. 63. a bytter thinge, & in an other place a myghty power, and other wayes mo, which I wyll let passe, bycause euerye man readeth them daylye: But yet one place of scripture I must nedes remembre, which is more notable for ye prayse of shoting, then any yt euer I red in any other storie, and that is, when Saul was slayne of ye Philistians being mightie bowmen, and Ionathas his sonne with him, that was so good a shoter, as ye scripture sayth, that he neuer shot shafte in vayne, and yt the kyngdome after Saules deathe came vnto Dauid: the first statute & lawe that euer Dauid made after he was king, was this, Regum. 2. 1. that al ye children of Israel shulde learne to shote, according to a lawe made many a daye before yt tyme for the setting out of shoting as it is written (sayeth Scripture) in libro Iustorum, whiche booke we have not nowe: And thus we se

plainelye what greate vse of shoting, and what prouision euen

from the begynnynge of the worlde for shotyng, was amonge the Iewes.

The Ethiopians which inhabite the furthest part South in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen: in somoche that when Cambyses king of Persie being in Egipt, sent certayne ambassadours into Ethiope to the kynge there, with many great gyftes: the king of Ethiop perceyuinge them to be espyes, toke them vp sharpely, and blamed Cambyses greatly for such vniust enterprises: but after that he had princely entertayned them, he sent for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then vnbent it agayne, and

and bente it and drewe it, and then vnbent it agayne, and sayde vnto the ambassadours, you shall comende me to Cambyses, and gyue him this bowe fro me, and byd him when any Persian can shote in this bowe, let him set vpon the Ethiopians: In the meane whyle let hym gyue thankes vnto God, whiche doth not put in the Ethiopias mynde to coquere any other mans lande. This bowe, when it came amonge the Persians, neuer one man in suche an infinite host (as Herodotus doth saye) could styrre the stryng, saue onely Smerdis the brother of Cambyses, whiche styrred it two fingers, and no further: for the which act Cambyses had suche enuy at him, that he afterward slewe him: as doth appeare in the storye.

Sesostris the moost mightie king that euer was in Egipt, ouercame a great parte of the worlde, and that by archers: he subdued the Arabians, the Iues, the Assyrians: he wet farther into Scythia then any man els: he ouercame Thracia, euen to the borders of Germanie. And in token how he ouercame al men he set vp in many places great ymages to his owne lykenesse, hauynge in the one hande a bowe, in the other a sharpe heeded shafte: that men myght knowe, what weapon his hooste vsed, in conqueryng so manye people.

Herod. in Euterpe. Diod. Sic. 2

Cyrus, counted as a god amonges the Gentyles, for his noblenesse and felicitie in warre: yet at the last when he set vpon the Massagetanes (which people neuer went without their bowe nor their quiuer, nether in warre nor peace) he and all his were slayne, and that by shotyng, as appeareth in the storye.

Polycrates the prince of Samos (a very little yle) was lorde ouer all the Greke sees, and withstode the power of the Persians, onely by the helpe of a thousande archers.

Herod. ī that

The people of Scythia, of all other men loued, and vsed moost shotyng, the hole rychesse and househoulde stuffe of a man in Scythia, was a yocke of oxen, a plough, his nagge and his dogge, his bowe and his quiuer: which quiuer was couered with the skynne of a man, which he toke or slewe fyrste in battayle. The Scythians to be inuincible by reason of their shotyng, the greate voyages of so manye noble conquerours spent in that countrie in vayne, doeth well proue: But specially that of Darius the myghtie kyng of Persie, which when he had taryed there a great space, and done no good, but had forweryed his hoste with trauayle and hunger: At last the men of Scythia sent an ambassadour with .iiii. Herod. in gyftes: a byrde, a frogge, a mouse, and .v. Melpomen. shaftes. Darius meruaylyng at the straungenesse of the gyftes, asked the messenger what they signifyed: the messenger answered, that he had no further comaundement, but onely to delyuer his gyftes, and retourne agayne with all spede: but I am sure (sayeth he) you Persians for your great wysdome, can soone boult out what they meane. When the messenger was gone, euery man began to say his verdite. Darius Iudgement was this, that ye Scythians gaue ouer into the Persians handes, their lyues, theyr hole power, both by lande and see, signifyinge by the mouse the earthe, by the frogge the water, in which they both liue, by ye birde their lyues which lyue in the ayer, by the shaft their hole power and Empire, that was maynteyned alwayes by shotinge. Gobryas a noble and wyse captayne amonges the Persians, was of a cleane cotrary minde, saying, nay not so, but the Sythias meane thus by their gyftes, that except we get vs wynges, and flye into the ayer lyke birdes, or run into ye holes of the earth lyke myse, or els lye lurkyng in fennes & marisses lyke frogges, we shall neuer returne home agayne, before we be vtterly vndone with their shaftes: which sentence sanke so sore into their hertes, yt Darius with all spede possible, brake up his campe, and gat hym selfe homewarde. Yet howe moche the Persians Herod. ī clio. them selues set by shotinge, wherby they en-Xenoph. in creased their empire so moche, doth appeare by cyrop. Strab. 11. .iii. manifest reasons: firste that they brought vppe theyr youth in the schole of shoting, vnto .xx. yere of age, as dyuerse noble Greke authours do saye.

Agayne, bycause the noble kyng Darius thought hym selfe to be praysed by nothyng so moch, as to be counted a good shoter, as doth appeare by his sepulchre, wherin he caused to be written this sentence:

Darius the King lieth buried here That in shoting and riding had never pere. Strab. 15.

Thirdlye the coyne of the Persians, both golde & siluer had the Armes of Persie vpon it, as is customably vsed in other realmes, and that was bow and arowes: Plutarch. in by the which feate they declared, how moch they Agesila.

set by them.

The Grecians also, but specially the noble Athenienses, had all their strength lyinge in Artillarie: and for Suidas. yt purpose the citie of Athes had a m. men which were onely archers, in dayly wages, to watche and kepe the citie fro al ieoperdie & sodein dauger: which archers also shuld cary to priso & warde any misdoer at ye comaundemet of the hygh officers, as playnlye doth appeare in Plato. surely the bowmen of Athens did woderful feates Plato in proin many battels, but specially when Demosthenes tagora. the valiaut captayne slue and toke prisoners all the Lacedemonians besyde ve citie of Pylos, where Nestor somtyme was lord: the shaftes went so thicke Thucydid. 4. that daye (sayth Thucydides) that no man could se theyr enemies. A Lacedemonian taken prisoner, was asked of one at Athens, whether they were stoute fellowes that were slayne or no, of the Lacedemonians: he answered nothing els but this: make moche of those shaftes of youres, for they knowe neyther stoute nor vnstoute: meanynge therby, that no man (though he were neuer so stout) came in their walke, that escaped without death.

Herodotus descrybing the mighty hoost of Xerxes especially doth marke out, what bowes and shaftes they vsed, signifying yt therin lay their chefe stregth. And at the same tyme Attossa, mother of Xerxes, wyfe to Darius, and doughter of Cyrus, doeth enquire (as Aeschylus sheweth in a Tragedie) of a cer-

Herod, in Polym.

Esch. i Pers.

tayne messenger that came from Xerxes hoste, what stronge and fearfull bowes the Grecians vsed: wherby it is playne, that Artillarie was the thing, wherin both Europe and Asia at those

dayes trusted moost vppon.

The best parte of Alexanders hoste were archers as playnelye doth appeare by Arianus, and other yt wrote his life: and those so stronge archers, that they onely, sundrye tymes ouercame their enemies, afore any other neded to fyght: as Arianus. 8. was sene in the battayl which Nearchus one of Alexanders capitaynes had besyde the ryuer of Thomeron. And therfore as concerning all these kyngdomes and comune wealthes, I maye coclude with this sentence of Plinie, whose wordes be, as I suppose thus: If any man woulde Plin. lib. 16. remebre the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabians, Cap. 36. the men of Inde, of Scythia, so many people in ye east of the Sarmatianes, and all the kyngdomes of the Parthians, he shall well perceyue halfe the parte of the worlde, to lyue in subjection, ouercome by the myght and power of shotinge.

In the commune wealth of Rome, which exceded all other in vertue, noblenesse, and dominion litle metion is made of shoting, not bycause it was litle vsed amonges them, but rather bycause it was bothe so necessarye and comune, that it was thought a thing not necessarye or requyred of anye man to be spoken vpon, as if a man shoulde describe a greate feaste, he woulde not ones name bread, although it be mooste common and necessarye of all: but surely yf a feaste beynge neuer so great, lacked bread, or had fewsty and noughty bread, all the other daynties shulde be vnsauery, and litle regarded, and than woulde men talke of the commodity of bread, whan they lacke it, that would not ones name it afore, whan they had it: And euen so dyd the Romaynes as concernynge shootyng. Seldome is shootinge named, and yet it dyd the moste good in warre, as didde appere, verye playnlye in that battell, whiche Scipio Aphrican9 had with the Numantines in Spayne, whome he coulde neuer ouercome, before he sette bowemen amonges his horse men, by whose myght they were clean vanquished.

Agayne, Tiberius fyghtynge with Armenius and Inguiomerus princis of Germanie, had one wing of archers on horseback, an other of archers on foot, by whose might the Germanes were slayne downe ryghte, and so scattered and beate oute of the feelde, that the chase lasted .x. myles, the Germanes clame vp in to trees for feare, but the Romanes dyd fetche them downe with theyr shaftes as they had be birdes, in whyche battell the Romaynes lost fewe or none, as dothe appeare in the historie.

But as I began to saye, the Romaynes dyd not so muche prayse the goodnesse of shootinge, whan they had it, as they dyd lament the lacke of it, whan they wanted it, as Leo the .v. the noble Emperour doth playnly testifie in sundrie places in those bokes whiche he wrote in Greke, of the slevghtes and pollicies of warre. PHIL. Surelie of that booke I have not heard before, and howe came you to the syghte of it. The booke is rare trulie, but this laste yeare when master Cheke translated the sayd booke out of greke in to Latin, to ye kinges maiestie, he of his gentlenesse, wolde haue me very ofte in hys chaber, and for the familiaritie that I had wyth hym, more than manye other, woulde suffer me to reade of it, whan I woulde, the whiche thinge to do, surelye I was very desirous and glad, because of the excellent handelynge of all thynges, that euer he taketh in hande. And verily Philologe, as ofte as I remembre the departynge of that man from the vniuersitie, (whiche thinge I do not seldome) so ofte do I well perceyue our moste helpe and furtheraunce to learnynge, to haue gon awaye with him. For by ye great comoditie yt we toke in hearyng hym reade prinatly in his chambre, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato, we feele the great discommoditie in not hearynge of hym, Aristotle & Demosthenes, whiche ii. authours with all diligence last of all he thought to haue redde vnto us. when I consider howe manye men he succoured with his helpe, & hys ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were prouoked and styrred vp, by his councell and daylye example, howe they shulde come to learning, surely I perceyue that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth that there is nothyng better in any common wealthe, than that there shoulde be alwayes one or other, excellent passyng man, whose lyfe and vertue, shoulde plucke forwarde the will, diligence, laboure and hope of all other, that following his footesteppes, they myght comme to the same ende, wherevnto labour, lerning & vertue, had coueied him before. The great hinderance of learning, in

lackinge thys man greatly I shulde lament, if this discomoditie of oures, were not ioyned with the comoditie & welth, of ye hole realme, for which purpose, our noble king full of wysedome hath called vp this excellent man full of learnynge, to teache noble prince Edwarde, an office ful of hope, comforte & solace to al true hertes of England: For whome al England dayly doth praye, yt he passing his Tutour in learnyng & knowledge, folowynge his father in wisedome & felicitie, accordyng to yt example which is set afore his eyes, may so set out and mayntayne goddes worde to the abolishment of al papistry, the confusion of al heresie, that therby he feared of his ennemies, loued of al his subiectes, maye bring to his own glory, immortal fame & memorie, to this realme, welthe, honour & felicitie, to true and vnfayned religion perpetuall peace, concorde and vnitie.

But to retourne to shootynge agayne, what Leo sayeth of shootynge amonges the Romaynes, hys woordes, be so muche for the prayse of shootynge, and the booke also so rare to be gotten,

that I learned the places by harte, whyche be as I suppose, euen thus. Fyrste in his sixte booke, as concerning what harneys is best: Lette all the youth of Rome be compelled to vse shootyng, eyther more or lesse, & alwayes to bear theyr bowe & theyr quiuer aboute with them, untyll they be .xl. yeares oulde.

For sithens shootynge was necglected and decayed among the Romaynes, many a battayle and fyelde hath been loste. Agayne in the 11. booke and .50. chapiter, (I call Leo. 11. 50. that by bookes and chapiters, whyche the greke booke deuideth by chapiters and paragraphes) Let your souldyers haue theyr weapons wel appoynted and trimmed, but aboue all other thynges regarde moste shootinge, and therfore lette men when there is no warre, vse shootynge at home: For the leauynge of, onely of shotynge, hath broughte in ruyne and decaye, the hole Empire of Rome. Afterwarde he commaundeth agayne, hys capitayne by these wordes: Arme your hoste as I have appoynted you, but specially with bowe Leo. 18. 21. and arrowes plentie. For shootynge is a thinge of muche myghte and power in warre, and chyefely agaynst the Sarracenes and Turkes, whiche people hath all their hope of victorie in theyr bowe and shaftes: Besydes all this, in an other place, he wryteth thus to his Captayne: Artillerie is easie to be prepared, and in time of great nede, a thing moste profitable, therfore we straytlye commaunde you to make proclamation to al men vnder our dominion, which be eyther in war or peace, to all cities, borowes and townes, and fynally to all maner of men, that euerye seare persone haue

Leo. 20. 79. bowe and shaftes of his owne, & euerye house besyde this, to haue a standing bearyng bowe, and xl. shaftes for all nedes, and that they exercise them selues in holtes, hilles, and dales, playnes and wodes, for all maner of chaunces in warre.

Howe muche shooting was vsed among the olde Romanes and what meanes noble captaynes and Emperou[r]s made, to haue it encrease amonge them, and what hurte came by the decaye of it, these wordes, of Leo the emperour, which in a maner I haue rehersed woorde for woorde, playnly doth declare. And yet shotynge, although they set neuer so muche by it, was neuer so good than, as it is nowe in Englande, whiche thing to be true, is very probable, in that Leo doth saye, that he woulde haue his souldiers take of theyr arrowe heads, and one shote at an other, for theyr exercise, whiche playe yf Englyshe archers vsed, I thinke they

shoulde fynde smal play and lesse pleasure in it at all.

The great vpperhande maynteyned alwayes in warre by artillery, doeth appeare verye playnlye by this reason also, that whan the spanyardes, franchmen, and germanes, grekes, macedonians, and egyptians, eche contry vsing one singuler weapon, for whyche they were greatelye feared in warre, as the Spanyarde Lancea, the Francheman Gesa, the German Framea, the Grecian Machera, the Macedonian Sarissa, yet coulde they not escape, but be subjectes to the Empire of Rome, whan the Parthians hauyng all theyr hope in artillerie, gaue no place to the, but ouercame the Romanes, ofter than the Romaynes them, and kepte battel with them, many an hundred yeare, and slue the ryche Crassus and hys son wyth Plutarch, ī many a stoute Romayne more, with their bowes. M. Crass. & They draue Marcus Antonius ouer the hylles of ī M. Anto. Ael. Spart. Media & Armenia, to his great shame and reproch. They slue Iulianus Apostata, and Antoninus Caracalla, they helde in perpetual pryson, ye most noble emperour Valerian in despite of all the Romaynes and many other princes, whiche wrote for his delyueraunce, as Bel solis called kynge of kynges, Valerius kynge of Cadusia, Arthabesdes kyng of Armenia, and many other princes more, whom ye Parthians by reason of theyr artillerie, regarded neuer one whitte, and thus with the Romaynes, I maye conclude, that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the sunne rysinge and sunne settynge, as Tullye sayeth: but so farre they went, as artillarie woulde gyue them leaue. For I thinke all the grounde that they had, eyther northewarde, farther than the borders of Scythia, or Eastewarde, farther than the borders of Parthia, a man myght haue boughte wt a small deale of money, of whiche thynge surely shotyng was the cause.

From the same contrie of Scythia the Gothians Hunnes, and Wandalians came wyth the same wepons of artillarie, as Paulus Diaconus doth saye, & so berafte Rome of her empyre wyth fyre, spoyle, & waste, so yt in suche a learned citie was lefte scarce one man behynde, that had learnynge or leysoure to leue in writinge to them whiche shoulde come after howe so noble an Empyre, in so shorte a whyle, by a rable of banyshed bondemen, wythoute all order and pollicie, saue onelye theyr naturalle and daylye excercise in artillarye, was broughte to suche thraldome and ruine.

After them the Turkes having an other name, but yet the same people, borne in Scythia, brought vp onely P. Mela. 1. in artillarie, by the same weapon haue subdued and beraft from the Christen men all Asia and Aphrike (to speake vpon,) and the moost noble countries of Europe, to the greate diminishing of Christe his religion, to the great reproche of cowardyse of al christianitie, a manifest token of gods high wrath & displeasure ouer the synne of the worlde, but speciallye amonges Christen men, which be on slepe made drunke with the frutes of the flesh, as infidelitie, disobedience to Goddes worde, and heresie, grudge, euelwyll, stryfe, contention, and priuie enuye, coueytousnesse, oppression, vnmercifulnesse, with innumerable sortes of vnspeakeable daylye bawdrye: which thinges surely, yf God holde not his holy hande ouer vs, and plucke vs from them, wyl bryng vs to a more Turkishnesse and more beastlye blynde barbarousnesse: as callyng ill thinges good, and good thynges ill, contemnyng of knowledge & learnynge, settynge at nought, and hauyng for a fable, God and his high prouidence, wyll bring vs (I say) to a more vngracious Turkishnesse (if more Turkishnesse can be then this) that if the Turkes had sworne, to bring al Turkye agaynst vs. For these frutes surelye must neades sprynge of suche seede, and suche effect nedes folowe of suche a cause: if reason, truthe, and God, be not altered, but as they are wont to be. For surely no Turkyshe power can ouerthrowe vs, if Turkysshe lyfe do not cast vs downe before.

If god were wyth vs, it buted not the turke to be agaynst vs, but our vnfaythful sinfull lyuyng, which is the Turkes moder, and hath brought hym vp hitherto, muste nedes turne god from vs, because syn and he hath no felowshyp togither. If we banished ill liuyng out of christendome, I am sure the Turke shulde not onelye, not ouercome vs, but scarce haue an

hole to runne in to, in his own countrye.

But Christendome nowe I may tell you Philologe is muche lyke a man that hath an ytche on him, and lyeth droke also in his bed, and though a thefe come to the dore, and heaueth at it, to come in, and sleye hym, yet he lyeth in his bed, hauinge more pleasure to lye in a slumber and scratche him selfe wher it ytcheth euen to the harde bone, than he hath redynes to ryse up lustelye, & dryue him awaye that woulde robbe hym and sleye hym. But I truste Christe wyl so lyghten and lyfte vp Christen mennes eyes, that they shall not slepe to death, nor that the turke Christes open enemy, shall euer boste that he hath quyte ouerthrowen vs. But as I began to tell you, shootynge is the chefe thinge, wherewith God suffereth the turke to punysh our noughtie liuinge wyth all:

The youthe there is brought vp in shotyng, his privile garde for his own person, is bowmen, the

might of theyr shootynge is wel knowen of the Spanyardes, whiche at the towne called Newecastell in Illirica, were quyte slayne vp, of the turkes arrowes: whan the Spanyardes had no vse of theyr gunnes, by reason of the rayne. And nowe last of all, the emperour his maiestie him selfe, at the Citie of Argier in Aphricke had his hooste sore handeled wyth the Turkes arrowes, when his gonnes were quite dispatched and stode him in no seruice, bycause of the raine that fell, where as in suche a chaunce of raine, yf he had had bowmen, surelye there shoote myghte peraduenture haue bene a litle

Toxophilus. A.

50

hindred, but quite dispatched and marde, it coulde neuer haue bene.

But as for the Turkes I am werie to talke of them partlye because I hate them, and partlye bycause I am now affectioned euen as it were a man that had bene longe wanderyng in strauge contries & would fayne be at home to se howe well his owne frendes prosper and leade theyr lyfe, and surely me thincke I am verie merye at my harte to remember how I shal finde at home in Englande amonges Englysh men, partlye by hystories, of them that haue gone afore vs, agayne by experience of the whych we knowe, & lyue with vs as greate noble feates of warre doone by Artillarye, as euer was done at any tyme in any other common welthe. And here I

must nedes remeber a certaine Frechman called Textor. Textor, that writeth a boke whiche he nameth Officina, wherin he weueth vp many brokenended matters and settes out much rifraffe, pelfery, trumpery, baggage & beggerie ware clamparde vp of one that would seme to be fitter for a shop in dede than to write any boke. And amonges all other yll packed vp matters, he thrustes vp in a hepe togyther all the good shoters that euer hathe bene in the worlde as he saythe hymselfe, and yet I trow Philologe that of all the examples whiche I now by chauce haue rehersed out of the best Authors both in greke and latin, Textor hath but .ii. of them, which .ii. surely yf they were to reke agayne, I wold not ones name the, partly bycause they were noughtie persons, and shoting somoche the worse, bycause they loued it, as Domitian and Commodus the emperours: partelye bycause Textor hath them in his boke, on whom I loked on bychaunce in the bookebynders shope, thynkynge of no suche matter. And one thing I wyl say to you Philologe, that if I were disposed to do it, and you hadde leysure to heare it, I coulde soone do as Textor doth, and reken vp suche a rable of shoters that be named here and there in poetes, as wolde holde vs talkyng whyles tomorowe: but my purpose was not to make mention of those which were feyned of Poetes for theyr pleasure, but of suche as were proued in histories for a truthe: but why I bringe in Textor was this: At laste when he hath rekened all shoters that he can, he sayeth thus, Petrus P. Crin. 3. 10. Crinitus wryteth, that the Scottes whiche dwell

beyonde Englande be verye excellent shoters, and the best bowmen in warre. This sentence whether Crinitus wrote it more leudly of ignoraunce, or Textor confirmeth it more piuyshlye of enuye, may be called in question and doubte: but this surelye do I knowe very well that Textor hath both red in Gaguinus the Frenche hystorie, and also hath hearde his father or graundfather taulke (except perchauce he was borne and bred in a Cloyster) after that sort of the shotynge of Englisshe men, that Textor neded not to have gone so piuishlye beyonde Englande for shoting, but myght very soone, eue in the first towne of Kent, haue founde suche plentie of shotinge, as is not in al the realme of Scotland agayne. The Scottes surely be good men of warre in theyr owne feate as can be: but as for shotinge, they neyther can vse it for any profyte, nor yet wil chalege it for any prayse, although master Textor of his getlenesse wold gyue it them. Textor neaded not to haue fylled vppe his booke with suche lyes, if he hadde read the storye of Scotlande, whiche Ioannes Maior doeth wryte: wherein he myghte haue learned, that when Iames Stewart fyrst kyng of that name, at the Parliamet holden at Saynt Iohnnes towne or Perthie, commaunded vnder payne of a greate forfyte, that euerye Scotte shoulde learne to shote: yet neyther the loue of theyr coutrie, the feare of their enemies, the auoydying of punishment, nor the receyuinge of anye profyte that myght come by it, coulde make them to be good Archers: whiche be vnapte and vnfytte therunto by Gods prouidence and nature.

Therfore the Scottes them selues proue Textor a lyer, bothe with authoritie and also daily experience, and by a certayne Prouerbe that they have amonges them in theyr comunication, wherby they give the whole prayse of shotynge honestlye to Englysshe men, saying thus: that every Englysshe Archer beareth vnder hys gyrdle .xxiiii. Scottes.

But to lette Textor and the Scottes go: yet one thynge woulde I wysshe for the Scottes, and that is this, that seinge one God, one faythe, one compasse of the see, one lande and countrie, one tungue in speakynge, one maner and trade in lyuynge, lyke courage and stomake in war, lyke quicknesse of witte to learning, hath made Englande and Scotlande bothe one, they wolde suffre them no longer to be two: but cleane

gyue ouer the Pope, which seketh none other thinge (as many a noble and wyse Scottish man doth knowe) but to fede vp dissention & parties betwixt them & vs, procuryng that thynge to be two, which God, nature, and reason, wold haue one.

Howe profytable suche an attonement were for Scotlande, both Iohannes Maior, and Ector Boetius which Iohn. Mawrote the Scottes Chronicles do tell, & also all ior. 6. hist. the gentlemen of Scotlande with the poore comunaltie, do wel knowe: So that there is nothing that stoppeth this matter, saue onelye a fewe freers, and suche lyke, whiche with the dregges of our Englysh Papistrie lurkyng now amonges them, study nothing els but to brewe battell and stryfe betwixte both the people: Wherby onely they hope to maynetayne theyr Papisticall kyngdome, to the destruction of the noble blood of Scotlande, that then they maye with authoritie do that, whiche neither noble man nor poore man in Scotlande yet doeth knowe. And as for Scottishe men and Englishe men be not enemyes by nature, but by custome: not by our good wyll, but by theyr owne follye: whiche shoulde take more honour in being coupled to Englande, then we shulde take profite in being joyned to Scotlande.

Wales being headye, and rebelling many yeares agaynst vs, laye wylde, vntylled, vnhabited, without lawe, iustice, ciuilitie and ordre: and then was amoges them more stealing tha true dealing, more suretie for them that studyed to be noughte, then quyetnesse for them that laboured to be good: when nowe thanked be God, and noble Englande, there is no countrie better inhabited, more ciuile, more diligent in honest craftes, to get bothe true and plentifull lyuynge withall. And this felicitie (my mynde gyueth me) within these few dayes shal chauce also to Scotlande, by the godly wysedome of oure mooste noble Prince kynge Henrye the .viii. by whome God hath wrought more wonderfull thynges then euer by any prince before: as banishing the byshop of Rome and herisie, bringyng to light god his worde and veritie, establishing suche iustice and equitie, through euery parte of this his realme, as neuer was sene afore.

To suche a Prince of suche a wysdome, God hath reserved this mooste noble attonement: wherby neither we shalbe any more troubled, nor the Scottes with their best

countries any more destroyed, nor ye see, whiche God ordeyneth profytable for both, shall from eyther be any more stopped: to the great quietnesse, wealth & felicitie of all the people dwellynge in this Ile, to the high renoume & prayse of our moost noble kyng, to the feare of all maner of nacions that owe ill wyll to either countrie, to the hygh pleasure of God, which as he is one, and hateth al diuision, so is he best of all pleased, to se thinges which be wyde and amysse, brought to peace and attonement. But Textor (I beshrowe him) hath almooste broughte vs from our comunicatio of shoting. sir by my iudgement, the Artillarie of England farre excedeth all other realmes: but yet one thing I doubt & longe haue surely in that point doubted, whe, or by whom, shotyng was first brought in to Englande, & for the same purpose as I was ones in companye wyth syr Thomas Eliot knight, which surelie for his lerning in all kynde of knowlege bringeth much worshyp to all the nobilite of Englande, I was so bould to aske hym, yf he at any tyme, had marked any thing, as cocernynge the bryngynge in of shootynge in to Englande: he aunswered me gentlye agayne, that he had a worcke in hand which he nameth, De rebus memorabilibus Anglie, which I trust we shal se in print shortlye, and for the accomplyshmente of that boke, he had read & perused ouer many olde monumetes of Englande, and in seking for that purpose, he marked this of shootynge in an excedyng olde cronicle, the which had no name, that what tyme as the Saxons came first into this realme in kyng Vortigers dayes, whe they had bene here a whyle and at last began to faull out with the Brittons, they troubled and subdewed the Brittons wyth nothynge so much, as with theyr bowe and shaftes, whiche wepon beynge straunge & not sene here before, was wonderfull terrible vnto them, and this beginninge I can thynke verie well to be true. But now as concerning many exaples for the prayse of English archers in warre, surely I wil not be long in a matter yt no mā doubteth in, & those few yt I wil name, shal either be proued by ye histories of our enemies, or els done by men that now liue.

Kynge Edward the thirde at the battel of Cressie ageinst Philip ye Frēche king as Gaguinus the frēch Historiographer plainlye doeth tell, slewe that daye all the nobilite of Fraunce

onlye wyth hys archers.

Such lyke battel also fought ye noble black prince Edward beside Poeters, where Iohn ye french king wt hys sonne & in a maner al ye peres of Frauce were taken beside .xxx. M. which that daye were slayne, & verie few Englyshe men, by reason of theyr bowes.

Kynge Henrie the fifte a prince pereles and moste vyctoriouse conqueroure of all that euer dyed yet in this parte of the world, at the battel of Dagin court with .vii. M. fyghtynge men, and yet many of them sycke, beynge suche Archers as the Cronycle sayeth that mooste parte of them drewe a yarde, slewe all the Cheualrie of Fraunce to the nomber of .XL. M.

and moo, and lost not paste .xxvi. Englysshe men.

The bloudye Ciuil warre of England betwixt the house of Yorke and Lancaster, where shaftes slewe of both sydes to the destruction of mannye a yoman of Englande, whome foreine battell coulde neuer haue subdewed bothe I wyll passe ouer for the pyttyefulnesse of it, and yet maye we hyghelye prayse GOD in the remembraunce of it, seynge he of hys prouydence hath so knytte to gether those .ii. noble houses, with so noble and pleasunte a flowre.

The excellent prince Thomas Hawarde nowe Duke of Northfolk, for whose good prosperite wt al his noble familie al English hertes dayly doth pray wt bowmē of England slew kyng Iamie wt many a noble Scot euē brāt agēst Flodō hil, in which battel ye stoute archers of Cheshire & Lanchasshire for one day bestowed to ye death for their prīce & coūtry sake, hath

gotten immortall name and prayse for euer.

The feare onely of Englysh Archers hathe done more wonderfull thinges than euer I redde in anye historye greke or latin, and moost wonderfull of all now of late beside Carlile betwixt Eske and Leuen at Sandy sikes, where the hoole nobilite of Scotlande for fere of the Archers of Englonde (next the stroke of God) as both Englysh men and Scotyshe men that were present hath toulde me were drowened and taken prisoners.

Nor that noble acte also, whyche althoughe it be almost lost by tyme, commeth not behynd in worthinesse, whyche my synguler good frende and Master Sir William Walgraue and Sir George Somerset dyd with a few Archers to ye number as it is sayd of .xvi. at the Turne pike besyde Hāmes where they

turned with so fewe Archers, so many Frenchemen to flight, and turned so many oute of theyr lackes, whych turne turned all fraunce to shame & reproche and those .ii. noble Knightes

to perpetuall prayse & fame.

And thus you se Philologe, in al contries Asia, Aphrike and Europe, in Inde, Aethiop, Aegypt & Iurie, Parthia, Persia, Grece, and Italie, Schythia, Turky, and Englande, from the begynninge of the world euen to thys daye, that shotynge hath had the cheife stroke in warre. PHI. These examples surelye I apte for the prayse of shotynge, not feyned by poetes, but proued by trewe histories, distinct by tyme and order, hath delyted me excedyng muche, but yet me thynke that all thys prayse belongeth to stronge shootynge and drawynge of myghtye bowes not to prickyng and nere shotinge, for which cause you and many other bothe loue & vse shootyng. TOX. Euer more Philologe you wyl haue some ouertwhart reson to drawe forthe more communication wtall, but neuerthelesse you shall perceaue if you wyl, that vse of prickyng, and desyre of nere shootynge at home, are the onelye causes of stronge shootyng in warre, and why? for you se, that the strongest men, do not drawe alwayes the strongest shoote, whiche thyng prouethe that drawinge stronge, liethe not so muche in the strength of man, as in the vse of shotyng. experience teacheth the same in other thynges, for you shal se a weake smithe, whiche wyl wyth a lipe and turnyng of his arme, take vp a barre of yron, yt another man thrise as stronge, can not stirre. And a strong man not vsed to shote, hath his armes breste and shoulders, and other partes wherwith he shuld drawe stronglye, one hindering and stoppinge an other, euen as a dosen stronge horses not vsed to the carte, lettes & troubles one And so the more stronge man not vsed to shote, shootes moost vnhāsumlye, but yet if a strong man with vse of shooting coulde applye all the partes of hys bodye togyther to theyr moost strengthe, than should he both drawe stronger than other, and also shoote better than other. But nowe a stronge man not vsed to shoote, at a girde, can heue vp & plucke in suder many a good bowe, as wild horses at a brunte doth race & pluck in peces many a stronge carte. And thus strong me, without vse, can do nothynge in shoting to any purpose, neither in warre nor peace, but if they happen to shoote, yet they haue

done within a shoote or two when a weake man that is vsed to shoote, shal serue for all tymes and purposes, and shall shoote .x. shaftes, agaynst the others .iiii. & drawe them vp to the poynte, euerye tyme, and shoote them to the mooste aduauntage, drawyng and withdrawing his shafte when he list, markynge at one man, yet let driuyng at an other man: whiche thynges in a set battayle, although a man, shal not alwayes vse, yet in bickerynges, and at ouerthwarte meatinges, when fewe archers be togyther, they do moste good of all.

Agayne he that is not vsed to shoote, shall euermore with vntowardnesse of houldynge his bowe, & nockynge his shafte, not lookyng to his stryng betyme, put his bowe alwayes in ieoperdy of breakynge, & than he were better to be at home, moreouer he shal shoote very fewe shaftes, and those full vnhandsumlye, some not halfe drawen, some to hygh and some to lowe, nor he can not drive a shoote at a tyme, nor stoppe a shoote at a neede, but oute muste it, and verye ofte to eucl PHI. And that is best I trow in war, to let it go, and not to stoppe it. TOX. No not so, but somtyme to houlde a shafte at the heade, whyche if they be but few archers, doth more good with the feare of it, than it shoulde do if it were shot, with the stroke of it. PHI. That is a wonder to me, yt the feare of a displeasure, shoulde do more harme than the displeasure it selfe. TOX. Yes, ye knowe that a man whiche fereth to be banyshed, out of hys cuntrye, can neyther be mery, eate, drynke nor sleape for feare, yet when he is banished in dede, he slepeth and eateth, as well as any other. And many menne doubtyng and fearyng whether they shoulde dye or no, euen for verye feare of deathe, preuenteth them selfe with a more bytter deathe then the other death shoulde haue bene in And thus feare is euer worse than the thynge feared, as is prately proud, by the communication Ciri. ped. 3. of Cyrus and Tigranes, the kynges sunne of Armenie, in Xenophon.

PHI. I grante Toxophile, that vse of shotyng maketh a man drawe strong, to shoote at most aduauntage, to kepe his gere, whiche is no small thinge in war, but yet me thinke, that the customable shoting at home, speciallye at buttes and prickes, make nothynge at all for stronge shooting which doth moste good in war. Therfore I suppose yf men shulde vse to goo

into the feyldes, and learne to shote myghty stronge shootes, and neuer care for any marke at al, they shulde do muche TOX. The trouthe is, that fashion muche vsed, woulde do muche good, but this is to be feared, least that waye coulde not prouoke men to vse muche shotyng, bycause ther shulde be lytle pleasure in it. And that in shoting is beste, yt prouoketh a man to vse shotinge moste: For muche vse maketh men shoote, bothe strong & well, whiche two thinges in shootinge, euery man doeth desyre. And the chyefe mayntayner of vse, in any thyng, is comparyson, and honeste contention. For whan a manne stryueth to be better than an other, he wyll gladly vse that thing, though it be neuer so paynful wherein he woulde excell, whiche thynge Aristotle verye pratelye doth note, sayenge.

Where is comparison, there is victorie: where is victorie, there is pleasure: And where is pleasure, no man Aristo. rheto.

careth what labour or payne he taketh, bycause of the prayse, and pleasure, that he shal haue, in

doynge better than other men.

Agayne, you knowe Hesiodus wryteth to hys brother Perses, yt al craftes men, by contending one honestly wt an other, do encrease theyr cunyng wt theyr substance. And therfore in London,

Hesio. ī ope.

ad Theod.

and other great Cities, men of one crafte, moste commonly, dwelle togyther, bycause in honest stryuyng togyther, who shall do best, euery one maye waxe bothe cunninger and rycher, so lykewyse in shootynge, to make matches to assemble archers togyther, to contende who shall shoote best, and winne the game, encreaseth ye vse of shotynge wonderfully amonges men.

PHI. Of Vse you speake very much Toxophile but I am sure in al other matters, Vse can do nothing, wythoute two other thinges be joyned wyth it, one is a natural Aptnesse to a thinge, the other is a true waye or Knowledge, howe to do the thing, to which ii. yf Vse be ioyned, as thirde felowe, of them thre, procedeth perfectnesse and excellencie: If a manne lacke the first two, Aptnesse and Cunnyng, Vse can do lytle good, at all. For he yt woulde be an oratour and is nothinge naturallye fitte for it, that is to saye lacketh a good wytte and memorie, lacketh a good voyce, countenaunce and body, and other suche like, ye[t] yf he had all these thinges, and knewe

not what, howe, where, when nor to whome he shulde speake, surelye the vse of spekynge, woulde brynge out none other frute but playne follye and bablyng, so yt Vse is the laste and the least neccessarye, of all thre, yet no thing can be done excellently without them al thre. And therfore Toxophile I my selfe bicause I neuer knewe, whether I was apte for shooting or no, nor neuer knewe waye, howe I shulde learne to shoote I have not vsed to shoote: and so I thinke five hundred more in Englande do besyde me. And surely yf I knewe that I were apte, and yt you woulde teach me howe to shoote, I woulde become an archer, and the rather, bycause of the good communication, the whiche I have had with you this daye, of shotyng. TOX. Aptnesse, Knowlege, and Vse, euen as you saye, make all thinges perfecte. Aptnesse is the fyrst and chyefest thinge, without whiche the other two do no good at all. Knowledge doeth encrease al maner of Aptnesse, bothe lesse and more. Vse sayth Cicero, is farre aboue all teachinge. And thus they all three muste be had, to do any thinge very well, and yf anye one be awaye, what so euer is done, is done verye meanly. Aptnesse is ye gyfte of nature, Knowlege, is gotten by ye helpe of other: Vse lyeth in our owne diligence & labour. So that Aptnesse & vse be ours and wtin vs, through nature & labour: Knowledge not ours, but comynge by other: and therfore moost dilligently, of all men to be sought for. Howe these three thinges stande with the artillery of Englande, a woorde or twoo I will saye.

All Englishe men generally, be apte for shotyng, and howe? Lyke as that grounde is plentifull and frutefull, whiche withoute anye tyllynge, bryngeth out corne, as for example, yf a man shoulde go to the myll or market with corne, and happen to spyl some in the waye, yet it wolde take roote and growe, bycause ye soyle is so good: so Englad may be thought very frutefull and apt to brynge oute shoters, where children euen from the cradell, loue it: and yong men without any teachyng so diligentlye vse it. Agayne, lykewyse as a good grounde, well tylled, and well husbanded, bringeth out great plentie of byg eared corne, and good to the faule: so if the youthe of Englande being apte of it selfe to shote, were taught and learned how to shote, the Archers of England shuld not be only a great deale raker, and mo then they be: but also a good deale

bygger and stronger Archers then they be. This comoditie shoulde followe also yf the youth of Englande were taught to shote, that euen as plowing of a good grounde for wheate, doth not onely make it mete for the seede, but also riueth and plucketh vp by the rootes, all thistles, brambles and weedes, which growe of theyr owne accorde, to the destruction of bothe corne and grounde: Euen so shulde the teaching of youth to shote, not only make them shote well, but also plucke awaye by the rootes all other desyre to noughtye pastymes, as disynge, cardyng, and boouling, which without any teaching are vsed euery where, to the great harme of all youth of this And lykewise as burnyng of thistles and diligent weding them oute of the corne, doth not halfe so moche ryd them, as whe ye ground is falloed and tilled for good grayne, as I haue hearde many a good husbandman say: euen so, neither hote punishment, nor yet diligent searching out of suche vnthriftinesse by the officers, shal so throwly wede these vngracious games out of the realme, as occupying and bringyng vp youth in shotynge, and other honest pastyme. Thirdly, as a grounde which is apt for corne and also wel tilled for corne: yet if a man let it lye stil and do not occupye it .iii. or .iiii. yeare: but then wyll sow it, if it be wheate (sayth Columella) it wil turne into rye: so if a man be neuer so apte to shote, nor neuer so wel taught in his youth to shote, yet if he giue it ouer, and not vse to shote, truly when he shalbe eyther copelled in war tyme for his countrye sake, or els prouoked at home for his pleasure sake, to faule to his bowe: he shal become of a fayre archer, a stark squyrter and dribber. Therefore in shotynge, as in all other thinges, there can neyther be many in number, nor excellent in dede: excepte these .iii. thynges, Aptnesse, Knowledge, and Vse goo togyther.

PHIL. Very well sayde Toxophile, and I promyse you, I agree to this iudgement of yours altogyther and therefore I can not a lytle maruayle, why Englysshe men brynge nomore helpe to shotynge, then nature it selfe gyueth them. For you se that euen children be put to theyr owne shiftes in shotyng, hauing nothynge taughte them: but that they maye chose, and chaunce to shoote ill, rather then well, vnaptlye soner then fitlye, vntowardlye, more easely then wel fauouredlye, whiche thynge causeth manye neuer begynne to shoote: and moo to leaue it

of when they haue begone, and moost of all to shote both worse & weaker, then they might shote, if they were taught. But peraduenture some men wyll saye, that wyth vse of shootynge a man shall learne to shoote, true it is he shall learne, but what shal he learne? marye to shoote noughtly. For all Vse, in all thynges, yf it be not stayed with Cunnyng, wyll verie easely brynge a man to do yt thynge, what so euer he goeth aboute with muche illfauorednes and deformitie.

Which thinge how much harme it doth in learning both Crassus excellencie dothe proue in Tullie, and I De Orat. 1. my selfe haue experiens in my lytle shootyng. And therfore Toxophile, you must nedes graunt me that ether Englishe men do il, in not ioynyng Knowlege of shooting to Vse, or els there is no knowlege or cuninge, which can be TOX. Learning to shoote is lytle gathered of shooting. regarded in England, for this consideration, bycause men be so apte by nature they have a greate redy forwardnesse and wil to vse it, al though no man teache them, al thoughe no man byd them, & so of theyr owne corage they rune hedlynge on it, and shoote they ill, shote they well, greate hede they take not. And in verie dede Aptnesse wt Vse may do sumwhat without Knowlege, but not the tenthe parte, if so be they were joyned with knowlege.

Whyche thre thynges be seperate as you se, not of theyr owne kynde, but through the negligence of me whyche coupleth them not to gyther. And where ye doubte whether there can be gadered any knowlege or arte in shootyng or no, surely I thynke that a ma being wel exercised in it and sumwhat honestly learned with all, myght soone with diligent obseruynge and markynge the hole nature of shootynge, find out as it were an Arte of it, as Artes in other matters have bene founde oute afore, seynge that shootyng stadeth by those thinges, which maye both be thorowlye perceued, and perfitly knowen, and suche that neuer failes, but be euer certayne, belongynge to one moost perfect ende, as shootyng streight, and keping of a lenght bring a man to hit the marke, ye chefe end in shootyng: which two thynges a man may attaine vnto, by diligent vsynge, and well handlynge those instrumentes, which belong vnto them. Therfore I can not see, but there lieth hyd in the nature of Shootynge, an Arte, whiche by notynge, and obseruynge of him, that is exercised in it, yf he be any thyng learned at al, maye be taught, to the greate forderaunce of Artillarie through And trewlye I meruell gretelye, that out al this Realme. Englysshe men woulde neuer yet, seke for the Arte of shootynge, seinge they be so apte vnto it, so praysed of there frendes, so feared of there ennemyes for it. Vegetius woulde Vegetius. haue maysters appointed, whyche shoulde teache youthe to shoote faire. Leo the Emperour of Rome, sheweth the same custome, to have bene alwayes amongest Leo. 6. 5. ye olde Romaynes: whych custome of teachyng youth to shoote (saythe he) after it was omitted, and litle hede taken of, brought the hole Empire of Rome, to grete Ruine. Schola Persica, that is the Scole of the Persians, Strabo. 11. appoynted to brynge vp youthe, whiles they were .xx. yeres olde in shooting, is as notably knowne in Histories as the Impire of ye Persians: whych schole, as doth apere in Cornelius Tacitus, as sone as they gaue ouer and Cor. Ta. 2. fell to other idle pastimes, brought bothe them and ye Parthians under ye subjection of the Romaines. Plato would have common maisters and stipendes, for De leg. 7. to teache youthe to shoote, & for the same purpose he would have a brode feylde nere every Citie, made common for men to vse shotyng in, whyche sayeng the more reasonably it is spoken of Plato, the more vnresonable is theyr dede whiche woulde ditche vp those feeldes priuatly for ther owne profyt, whyche lyeth open generallye for the commo vse: men by suche goodes be made rycher not honester sayeth Tullie. Yf men can be perswaded to haue shootynge De Offi. 2. taughte, this aucthorite whyche foloweth will perswade them, or els none, and that is as I haue ones sayde before, of Kynge Dauyd, whose fyrste acte and ordinaunce was after he was kynge that all Iudea should learne to shoote. Yf shotyng could speake, she would accuse England of vnkyndnesse and slouthfulnesse, of vnkyndnesse toward her bycause she beyng left to a lytle blynd vse, lackes her best maintener which is cunnynge: of slouthfulnesse towarde theyr owne selfe, bycause they are content wyth that whych aptnesse and vse doth graunt them in shootynge, and wyl seke for no knowlege as other noble comon welthes haue done: and the iustlier shootynge myght make thys complaynt, seynge that of fence and weapons

there is made an Arte, a thyng in no wyse to be compared to

shootynge.

For of fence all mooste in euerye towne, there is not onely Masters to teache it, wyth his Prouostes Vsshers Scholers and other names of arte & Schole, but there hath not fayled also, whyche hathe diligently and well fauouredly written it and is set out in Printe that euery man maye rede it.

What discommoditie doeth comme by the lacke of knowlege, in shootynge, it were ouer longe to rehearce. For manye that haue bene apte, and loued shootynge, bycause they knewe not whyche way to houlde to comme to shootynge, haue cleane

tourned them selues from shootynge.

And I maye telle you Philologe, the lacke of teachynge to shoote in Englande, causeth very manye men, to playe with the kynges Actes, as a man dyd ones eyther with the Mayre of London or Yorke I can not tel whether, whiche dyd commaund by proclamation, euerye man in the Citie, to hange a lanterne wyth a candell, afore his dore: whiche thynge the man dyd, but he dyd not lyght it: And so many bye bowes bicause of the acte, but yet they shote not: not of euyll wyll, but bycause they knowe not howe to shoote. But to conclude of this matter, in shoting as in all other thynges, Aptenesse.

nesse is the fyrste, and chyefe thynge, whiche if it be awaye, neyther Cunnynge or Vse, doeth anye good at all, as the Scottes and Fraunce men, wyth knowledge and Vse of shootynge, shall become good Archers, whan a cunynge shypwright shall make a stronge shyppe, of a Salowe tree: or whan a husbandman shall becom ryche, wyth sowyng wheat

on Newmarket heath. Cunnynge muste be had, bothe to set out, & amende Nature, and also to ouersee, and correcte vse: which vse yf it be not led, & gouerned wyth cunnyng, shall sooner go amisse, than strayght.

Vse maketh perfitnesse, in doinge that thynge, whervnto nature maketh a man apte, and knowlege maketh a man cunninge before. So yt it is not so doubtful, which of them three hath moost stroke in shoting as it is playne & euident, that all thre must be had, in excellent shootynge. PHI. For this communicacio Toxophile I am very glad, and yt for myn owne sake bicause I trust now, to become a shoter, And in dede I thought a fore, English me most apte for shoting, and

I sawe them dayelye vse shotyng, but yet I neuer founde none, that woulde talke of anye knowlege whereby a man might come to shotynge. Therfore I trust that you, by the vse you haue had in shoting, haue so thorowly marked and noted the nature of it, that you can teache me as it were by a trade or waye how to come to it. TOX. I graunte, I have vsed shootinge meetly well, that I might have marked it wel ynoughe, yf I had bene diligent. But my much shootynge, hath caused me studie litle, so that thereby I lacke learnynge, whych shulde set out the Arte or waye in any thynge. you knowe that I was neuer so well sene, in the Posteriorums of Aristotle as to inuent and searche out general Demonstrations for the setting forth of any newe Science. Yet by my trothe yf you wyll, I wyll goe with you into the fealdes at any tyme and tel you as much as I can, or els you maye stande some tyme at the prickes and looke on the which shoote best and so learne. PHI. Howe lytle you have looked of Aristotle, and how muche learnynge, you have lost by shotynge I can not tell, but this I woulde saye and yf I loued you neuer so ill, that you have bene occupyed in sumwhat els besyde shotynge. But to our purpose, as I wyll not require a trade in shotinge to be taught me after the sutteltye of Aristotle, euen so do I not agre with you in this poynt, that you wold have me learne to shoote with lokyng on them which shoote best, for so I knowe I should neuer come to shote meanelye. For in shotyng as in all other thynges which be gotten by teachynge, there must be shewed a waye & a path which shal leade a man to ye best and cheiffest point whiche is in shootynge, whiche you do marke youre selfe well ynough, and vttered it also in youre communication, when you sayde there laye hyd in ye nature of shootyng a certayne waye whych wel perceyued and thorowlye knowen, woulde bring a ma wythout any wanderyng to ye beste ende in shotyng whych you called hitting of the pricke. Therfore I would refer all my shootinge to that ende which is best, and so shuld I come the soner to some meane. whiche is best hath no faulte, nor can not be amended. shew me beste shootynge, not the beste shoter, which yf he be neuer so good, yet hath he many a faulte easelye of any man to be espyed. And therfore meruell not yf I requyre to folowe that example whych is without faulte, rather than that which hath so manye faultes. And thys waye euery wyse man doth folow in teachynge any maner of thynge. As Aristotle when he teacheth a man to be good he settes not before hym Socrates lyfe whyche was ye best man, but chiefe goodnesse it selfe accordynge to whych he would have a man directe his lyfe. TOX. This waye which you require of me Philologe, is to hard for me, and to hye for a shooter to taulke on, & take as I suppose out of the middes of Philosophie, to serche out the perfite ende of any thyng, ye which perfite ende to fynde out, sayth Tullie, is the hardest thynge in the worlde, Ora. ad Bru. the onely occasyon and cause, why so many sectes of Philosophers hathe bene alwayse in learnynge. althoughe as Cicero saith a man maye ymagine and dreame in his mynde of a perfite ende in any thynge, yet there is no experience nor vse of it, nor was neuer sene yet amonges men, as alwayes to heale the sycke, euer more to leade a shyppe without daunger, at al times to hit the prick: shall no Physicion, no shypmaster, no shoter euer do. And Aristotle saith that in all deades there are two pointes to be marked, Arist. pol. 8. 6. possibilitie & excelēcie, but chefely a wise mā must folow & laye hand on possibilitie for feare he lease bothe. Therfore seying that which is moost perfect and best in shootyng as alwayes to hit ye pricke, was neuer sene nor hard tel on yet amoges men, but onelye ymagined and thought vpon in a man his mynde, me thinck this is the wisest cousel & best for vs to folow rather that which a man maye come to, than yt whyche is vnpossible to be attained to, leste justely that saying of ye wyse mayde Ismene in Sophocles maye be verifyed on vs.

Soph. Anti. A foole he is that takes in hande he can not ende.

PHI. Well yf the perfite ende of other matters, had bene as perfitlye knowne, as the perfite ende of shotynge is, there had neuer bene so manye sectes of Philosophers as there be, for in shoting both man & boye is in one opinion, that alwayes to hit the pryck is mooste perfecte end that can be imagyned, so that we shal not nede gretly contend in this matter. But now sir, whereas you thynke yt a man in learning to shoote or any thyng els, shuld rather wyselye folow possibilitie, tha vainly seke for perfite excellencie, surelye I wyl proue yt euery wyse man, yt wisely wold learne any thyng, shal chiefly go aboute yt

whervnto he knoweth wel he shal neuer come. And you youre selfe I suppose shal confesse ye same to be ye best way in teachyng, yf you wyl answere me to those thinges whych I wyl aske of you. TOX. And yt I wyl gladlye, both bycause I thynke it is vnpossible for you to proue it, & also bycause I desire to here what you ca saye in it. PHI. The studie of a good Physicio Toxophile, I trow be to know al diseases & al medicines fit for them. TOX. It is so in dede. PHI. Bicause I suppose he would gladly at al tymes heale al diseases TOX. Ye truely. PHI. A good purpose surely, but was ther euer physicio yet among so many whyche hath laboured in thys study, that at al times coulde heale all diseases? TOX. No trewly; nor I thyncke neuer shalbe. PHI. Than Physicions by lyke, studie for yt, whiche none of them cometh vnto. But in learning of fence I pray you what is yt which men moost labor for? TOX. That they may hit a nother I trow & neuer take blow theyr selfe. PHI. You say trothe, & I am sure euery one of the would faine do so whe so euer he playethe. But was there euer any of the so conning yet, which at one tyme or other hath not be[n] touched? TOX. The best of them all is glad somtyme to escape with a blowe. PHIL. That in fence also, men are taught to go aboute that thing, whiche the best of them all knowethe he shall neuer attayne vnto. Moreouer you that be shoters, I pray you, what meane you, whan ye take so greate heade, to kepe youre standynge, to shoote compasse, to looke on your marke so diligently, to cast vp grasse diverse tymes and other thinges more, you know better tha I. What would you do tha I pray you? TOX. Hit ye marke yf we could. PHIL. And doth euery ma go about to hit the marke at euery shoote? TOX. By my trothe I trow so, and as for my selfe I am sure I do. PHIL. But al men do not hit it at al tymes. TOX. No trewlye for that were a wonder. PHIL. Can any man hit it at all tymes? TOX. No man verilie. PHIL. Than by likely to hit the pricke alwayes, is vnpossible. For that is called vnpossible whych is in no man his power to do. TOX. Vnpossible in dede. PHIL. But to shoote wyde and far of the marke is a thynge possyble. TOX. No man wyll denie that. PHIL. But yet to hit the marke alwayse were an excellent thyng. TOX. Excellent surelie. PHIL. tha I am

sure those be wiser men, which couete to shoote wyde than those whiche couete to hit the prycke. TOX. Why so I pray you. PHIL. Because to shote wyde is a thynge possyble, and therfore as you saye youre selfe, of euery wyse mā to be folowed. And as for hittinge ye prick, bycause it is vnpossible, it were a vaine thynge to go aboute it: but in good sadnesse Toxophile thus you se that a man might go throughe all craftes and sciences, and proue that anye man in his science coueteth that which he shal neuer gette. TOX. By my trouth (as you saye) I can not denye, but they do so: but why and wherfore they shulde do so, I can not learne. PHILO. I wyll tell you, euerye crafte and science standeth in two thynges: in Knowing of his crafte, & Working of his crafte: For perfyte knowlege bringeth a man to perfyte workyng This knowe Paynters, karuers, Taylours, shomakers, and all other craftes men, to be Nowe, in euery crafte, there is a perfite excellencie, which may be better knowen in a mannes mynde, then followed in a mannes dede: This perfytenesse, bycause it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore al mē, no one particuler man is able to compasse it: and as it is generall to al men, so it is perpetuall for al time whiche proueth it a thynge for man vnpossible: although not for the capacitie of our thinkyng whiche is heavenly, yet surelye for the habilitie of our workyng whyche is worldlye.

God gyueth not full perfytenesse to one man (sayth Tullie) lest if one man had all in any one science, ther De. Inuen. 2 shoulde be nothyng lefte for an other. Yet God suffereth vs to have the perfyt knowledge of it, that such a knowledge dilligently followed, might bring forth according as a man doth labour, perfyte woorkyng. And who is he, that in learnynge to wryte, woulde forsake an excellent example, and followe a worse? Therfore seing perfytenesse it selfe is an example for vs, let euerye man studye howe he maye come nye it, which is a poynt of wysdome, not reason with God why he may not attaine vnto it, which is vayne curosite. TOX. Surely this is gaily said Philologe, but yet this one thinge I am afraide of, lest this perfitnesse which you speke on wil discourage men to take any thynge in hande, bycause afore they begin, they know, they shal neuer come to an ende. And thus dispayre shall dispatche, euen at the fyrste entrynge in, many a good

man his purpose and intente. And I thinke both you your selfe, & al other men to, woulde counte it mere folie for a man to tell hym whome he teacheth, that he shal neuer optaine that, whyche he would fainest learne. And therfore this same hyghe and perfite waye of teachyng let vs leue it to hygher matters, and as for shootynge it shalbe content with a meaner waye well ynoughe. PHI. Where as you saye yt this hye perfitnesse will discorage me, bycause they knowe, they shall neuer attayne vnto it, I am sure cleane contrarie there is nothynge in the world shall incourage men more than it. And whye? For where a man seith, that though a nother man be neuer so excellente, yet it is possible for hym selfe to be better, what payne or labour wyl that man refuse to take? yf the game be onse wonne, no mā wyl set forth hys foote to ronne. And thus perfitnesse beynge so hyghe a thynge that men maye looke at it, not come to it, and beynge so plentifull and indifferent to euerye bodye that the plentifulnesse of it maye prouoke all men to labor, bycause it hath ynoughe for all me, the indifferencye of it shall encourage euerye one to take more paine than hys fellowe, bycause euerye man is rewarded according to his nye comyng, and yet whych is moste meruel of al, ye more men take of it, the more they leue behynd for other, as Socrates dyd in wysdome, and Cicero in eloquens, whereby other hath not lacked, but hathe fared a greate deele ye better. And thus perfitnesse it selfe bycause it is neuer obteyned, euen therfore only doth it cause so many men to be so well sene & perfite in many matters, as they be. But where as you thynke yt it were fondnesse to teache a man to shoote, in lokyng at the most perfitnesse in it, but rather woulde haue a manne go some other way to worke, I trust no wyse man wyl discomend that way, except he thincke himselfe wyser than Tullye, whiche doeth playnlye saye, that yf he teached any maner of crafte as he dyd Rhetorike he would labor to bringe a man to the knowlege of the moost perfitnesse of it, whyche knowlege should euer more leade and gyde a manne to do that thynge well whiche he went aboute. Whych waye in al maner of learning to be best, Plato dothe also declare in Euthydemus, of whome Tullie learned it as he dyd many other thynges mo. And thus you se Toxophile by what reasons and by whose authorite I do require of you this waye in teachynge

me to shoote, which waye I praye you withoute any more delaye shew me as far forth as you have noted and marked. TOX. You cal me to a thyng Philologe which I am lothe to do. And yet yf I do it not beinge but a smale matter as you thynke, you wyll lacke frendeshyp in me, yf I take it in hande and not bring it to passe as you woulde have it, you myghte thyncke great wat of wysdome in me.

But aduyse you, seing ye wyll nedes haue it so, the blame shalbe yours, as well as myne: yours for puttynge vpon me so instauntlye, myne in receyuynge so fondly a greater burthen then I am able to beare. Therfore I, more wyllynge to fulfyll your mynde, than hopyng to accomplysh that which you loke for, shall speake of it, not as a master of shotynge, but as one not altogyther ignoraunt in shotynge. And one thynge I am glad of, the sunne drawinge downe so fast into the west, shall compell me to drawe a pace to the ende of our matter, so that his darkenesse shall somethyng cloke myne ignoraunce. And bycause

you knowe the orderynge of a matter better then I: Aske me generallye of it, and I shall particularly answere to it. PHI.

Very gladly Toxophile: for so by ordre, those thynges whiche I woulde knowe, you shal tell the better: and those thynges whiche you shall tell, I shall remembre

the better.

TOXOPHI-LVS. B.

THE SECONDE BOOKE OF

the schole of shotyng.

DHILOL. What is the cheyfe poynte in shootynge, that euerye manne laboureth to come to? TOX. To hyt the marke. PHI. Howe manye thynges are required to make a man euer more hyt the marke? TOX. Twoo. PHI. Whiche twoo? TOX. Shotinge streyght and kepynge of a lengthe. PHIL. Howe shoulde a manne shoote strayght, & howe shulde a man kepe a length? TOX. In knowynge and hauynge thinges, belongynge to shootyng: and whan they be knowen and had, in well handlynge of them: whereof some belong to shotyng strayght, some to keping of a legth, some commonly to them bothe, as shall be tolde severally of them, in place conuenient. PHI. Thynges belongyng to shotyng, whyche be they? TOX. All thinges be outwarde, and some be instrumentes for every sere archer to brynge with him, proper for his owne vse: other thynges be generall to euery man, as the place and tyme serueth. PHI. which be instrumētes? TOX. Bracer, shotynggloue, stryng, bowe & shafte. PHI. Whiche be general to all men? TOX. The wether and the marke, yet the marke is euer vnder the rule of the wether. PHI. wherin standeth well handlynge of thynges? TOX. All togyther wythin a man him selfe, some handlynge is proper to instrumentes, some to the wether, somme to the marke, some is within a man hym selfe. PHI. what handlyng is proper to the Instrumentes. TOX. Standynge, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowsing, wherby cometh fayre shotynge, whiche neyther belong to wynde nor wether, nor yet to the marke, for in a rayne and at no marke, a man may shote a fayre shoote. PHI. well sayde, what handlynge belongeth to the

wether? TOX. Knowyng of his wynde, with hym, agaynst hym, syde wynd, ful syde wind, syde wynde quarter with him, syde wynde quarter agaynste hym, and so forthe. PHI. well than go to, what handlynge belongeth to the marke? TOX. To marke his standyng, to shote compasse, to draw euermore lyke, to lowse euermore lyke, to consyder the nature of the pricke, in hylles & dales, in strayte planes and winding places, & also to espy his marke. PHI. Very well done. And what is onely within a man hym selfe? TOX. Good heede gyuynge, and auoydynge all affections: whiche thynges oftentymes do marre and make all. And these thynges spoken of me generally and brefely, yf they be wel knowen, had, and handled, shall brynge a man to suche shootynge, as fewe or none euer yet came vnto, but surely yf he misse in any one of the, he can neuer hyt the marke, and in the more he doth misse, the farther he shoteth from his marke. But as in all other matters the fyrst steppe or stayre to be good, is to know a mannes faulte, and than to amende it, and he that wyl not knowe his faulte, shall neuer amende it. PHI. You speake nowe Toxophile, euen as I wold haue you to speake: But lette vs returne agayne vnto our matter, and those thynges whyche you haue packed vp, in so shorte a roume, we wyll lowse the forthe, and take euery pyece as it were in our hande and looke more narowlye vpon it. TOX. I am content, but we wyll rydde them as fast as we can, bycause the sunne goeth so faste downe, and yet somewhat muste needes be sayde of euerye one of them. PHI. well sayde, and I trowe we beganne with those thynges whiche be instrumentes, whereof the fyrste, as I suppose, was

bracer. TOX. Litle is to be sayd of the braser. A bracer serueth for two causes, one to saue his arme from the strype of the strynge, and his doublet from wearynge, and the other is, that the strynge glydynge sharpelye & quicklye of the bracer, maye make the sharper shoote. For if the strynge shoulde lyght vpon the bare sleue, the strengthe of the shoote shoulde stoppe and dye there. But it is best by my iudgemente, to gyue the bowe so muche bent, that the strynge neede neuer touche a mannes arme, and so shoulde a man nede no bracer as I knowe manye good Archers, whiche occupye none. In a bracer a man muste take hede of .iii. thinges, yt it haue no nayles in it, that it haue no bucles,

that it be fast on with laces wythout agglettes. For the nayles wyll shere in sunder, a manes string, before he be ware, and so put his bowe in ieoperdy: Buckles and agglettes at vnwares, shall race hys bowe, a thinge bothe euyll to the syghte, & perilous for freatynge. And thus a Bracer, is onely had for this purpose, that the strynge maye haue redye passage. PHI. In my Bracer I am cunnyng ynough, but what saye you of the

shootyng gloue.

TOX. A shootynge Gloue is chieflye, for to saue a mannes fyngers from hurtynge, that he maye be able to beare the sharpe stryng to the vttermost of his strengthe. And whan a man shooteth, the might of his shoote lyeth on the formooste fynger, and on the Ringman, for the myddle fynger whiche is the longest, lyke a lubber starteth backe, and beareth no weyght of the strynge in a maner at all, therfore the two other fyngers, muste haue thicker lether, and that muste haue thickest of all, where on a man lowseth moste, and for sure lowsyng, the formoste finger is moste apte, bycause it holdeth best, & for yt purpose nature hath as a man woulde saye, yocked it wt the thoumbe. Ledder, if it be nexte a mans skynne, wyl sweat, waxe hard and chafe, therefore scarlet for the softnes of it and thicknesse wyth all, is good to sewe wythin a manes gloue. If that wylle not serue, but yet youre finger hurteth, you muste take a searynge cloth made of fine virgin waxe, and Deres sewet, & put nexte your fynger, and so on wyth youre gloue. If yet you fele your fynger pinched, leaue shootyng both because than you shall shoote nought, & agayn by litle & lytle, hurtynge your finger, ye shall make it longe and longe to or you shoote agayne. A newe gloue pluckes many shootes bycause the stringe goeth not freelye of, and therefore the fingers muste be cut short, and trimmed with some ointment, that the string maye glyd wel awaye. Some with holdynge in the nocke of theyr shafte too harde, rub the skyn of there fingers. For this there be ii. remedyes, one to have a goose quyll splettyd and sewed againste the nockynge, betwixt the lining and the ledder, whyche shall helpe the shoote muche to, the other wave is to have some roule of ledder sewed betwixt his fingers at the setting on of the fingers, which shall kepe his fingers so in sunder, that they shal not hold the nock so fast as they did. The shootyng gloue hath a purse whych shall serue to put fine linen cloth and wax in, two necessary thynges for a shooter, some men vse gloues or other suche lyke thyng on their bow had for chafyng, bycause they houlde so harde. But that commeth commonlye, when a bowe is not rounde, but somewhat square, fine waxe shall do verye well in such a case to laye where a man holdeth his bow: and thus muche as concernynge your gloue. And these thynges althoughe they be trifles, yet bycause you be but a yonge shoter, I woulde not leue them out. PHI. And so you shal do me moost pleasure: The string I trow be the next. TOX. The next in dede. A thing though it be lytle, yet not a litle to be Stringe. regarded. But here in you muste be contente to put youre truste in honest stringers. And surely stringers ought more diligently to be looked vpon by the officers that ether bower or fletcher, bycause they may deceyue a simple man the more easelyer. An ill stringe brekethe many a good bowe, nor no other thynge halfe so many. In warre if a string breke the man is loste and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and althoughe he haue two stringes put one at once, yet he shall haue small leasure & lesse roume to bend his bow, therfore god send vs good stringers both for war and peace. Now what a stringe ought to be made on, whether of good hempe as they do now a dayes, or of flaxe or of silke, I leue that to the iugemente of stringers, of whome we muste bye Eustathius. them on. Eustathius apon this verse of homere

Twag q the bow, & twag q the string, out quicklie the shaft flue Iliad. 4.

doeth tel, that in oulde tyme they made theyr bowe strynges of bullox thermes, whiche they twyned togither as they do ropes, & therfore they made a great twange. Bowe strynges also hath bene made of the heare of an horse tayle called for the matter of them Hippias as dothe appeare in manye good authors of the Greke tongue. Great stringes, and lytle strynges be for diuerse purposes: the great string is more surer for the bowe, more stable to pricke wythal, but slower for the cast, the lytle stringe is cleane contrarye, not so sure, therfore to be taken hede of, leste with longe tarienge on, it breake your bowe, more fit to shoote farre, than apte to pricke nere, therfore when you knowe the nature of bothe bigge and

lytle, you must fit your bow, according to the occasion of your shootinge. In stringinge of your bow (though this place belong rather to the hadlyng than to the thyng it selfe, yet bycause the thynge, and the handlynge of the thynge, be so joyned together, I must nede some tyme couple the one wyth the other,) you must mark the fit length of youre bowe. For yf the stringe be to short, the bending wyll gyue, and at the last slyp and so put the bowe in ieopardye. Yf it be longe, the bendynge must nedes be in the smal of the string, which beynge sore twined muste nedes knap in sunder to ye distruction of manye good Moreouer you must looke that youre bowe be well nocked for fere the sharpnesse of the horne shere a sunder the strynge And that chaunceth ofte when in bending, the string hath but one wap to strengthe it wyth all. You must marke also to set youre stringe streygte on, or elles the one ende shall wriethe contrary to the other, and so breke your bowe. When the stringe begynnethe neuer so lytle to were, trust it not, but a waye with it for it is an yll saued halpeny yt costes a man a crowne Thus you se howe many ieopardyes hangethe ouer the selve poore bowe, by reason onlye of the strynge. As when the stringe is shorte, when it is longe, whe eyther of the nockes be nought, when it hath but one wap, and when it taryethe ouer longe on. PHI. I se wel it is no meruell, though so many bowes be broken. TOX. Bowes be broken twise as many wayes besyde these. But a gayne in stringynge youre bowe, you must loke for muche bende or lytle bende for they be cleane contrarye.

The lytle bende hath but one commoditie, whyche is in shootyng faster and farther shoote, and ye cause therof is, bycause the strynge hath so far a passage, or it parte wyth the shafte. The greate bende hath many commodities: for it maketh easyer shootynge the bowe beyng halfe drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the strynge stoppeth before it come at the arme. It wyl not so sone hit a mannes sleue or other geare, by the same reason: It hurteth not the shaft fedder, as the lowe bende doeth. It suffereth a man better to espye his marke. Therfore lette youre bowe haue good byg bend, a shaftemente and .ii. fyngers at the least, for these which I haue spoken of. PHI. The braser, gloue, and strynge, be done, nowe you muste come to the

bowe, the chefe instrument of all. TOX. Dyuers countryes and tymes haue vsed alwayes dyuers bowes, and of dyuers fashions. Horne bowes are vsed in some places nowe, & were vsed also in Homerus dayes, for Pandarus bowe, the best shooter among al the Troianes, was made of two Goete hornes ioyned togyther, the lengthe wherof sayth Homer, was .xvi handbredes, not far differing from the lengthe of our bowes.

Scripture maketh mention of brasse bowes. Iron bowes, and style bowes, haue bene of longe tyme, and also nowe are vsed among the Turkes, but yet they must nedes be vnprofitable. For yf brasse, yron or style, haue theyr owne strength and pith in them, they be farre aboue manes strength: yf they be made meete for mannes strengthe, theyr pithe is nothyng worth to shoote any shoote wyth all.

The Ethiopians had bowes of palme tre, whiche seemed to be very stronge, but we have none experience of Hero. in pol. them. The lengthe of them was .iiii. cubites The men of Inde had theyr bowes made of a rede, whiche was of a great strengthe. And no maruayle though bowe and shaftes were made therof, for the redes be so great in Inde, as Herodotus sayth, that of euery ioynte of a rede, In Thalia. a man may make a fyshers bote. These bowes, sayeth Arrianus in Alexanders lyfe, gaue so great a stroke, that no harneys or buckler though it were neuer so Arrianus. 8. strong, could wythstand it. The length of suche a bowe, was even wyth the length of hym, that vsed it. The Lycians vsed bowes made of a tree, called in In Polym. Latyn Cornus, (as concerning the name of it in English, I can soner proue that other men call it false, than I can tell the right name of it my selfe) this wood is as harde as horne and very fit for shaftes, as shall be toulde after.

Ouid sheweth that Syringa the Nymphe, and one of the maydens of Diana, had a bowe of this wood wherby the poete meaneth, that it was verye excellent to make bowes of

As for brasell, Elme, Wych, and Asshe, experience doth proue them to be but meane for bowes, and so to conclude Ewe of all other thynges, is that, wherof perfite shootyng woulde haue a bowe made.

Thys woode as it is nowe generall and common amonges Englyshe men, so hath it continewed from longe tyme and had in moost price for bowes, amoges the Romaynes, as doth apere in this halfe verse of Vyrgill.

Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Virgilius. Georg. 2.

Ewe fit for a bowe to be made on.

Nowe as I saye, a bowe of Ewe must be hadde for perfecte shootinge at the prickes, whiche marke, bycause it is certayne, & moste certaine rules may be gyuen of it, shall serue for our comunication, at this time. A good bowe is knowen, much what as good counsayle is knowen, by the ende and proofe of it, & yet bothe a bowe and good counsell, maye be made bothe better and worse, by well or yll handlynge of them: as oftentymes chauceth. And as a man both muste and wyll take counsell, of a wyse and honeste man, though he se not the ende of it, so must a shooter of necessitie, truste an honest and good bowyer for a bowe, afore he knowe the proofe of it. And as a wyse man wyll take plentye of counsel afore hand what soeuer need, so a shooter shulde haue alwayes .iii. or .iiii. bowes, in store, what so euer chaunce. PHI. But if I truste bowyers alwayes, sometyme I am lyke to be deceyued. TOX. Therefore shall I tell you some tokens in a bowe, that you shal be the seeldomer deceyued. If you come into a shoppe, and fynde a bowe that is small, long, heavy and strong, lyinge st[r]eyght, not windyng, not marred with knot gaule, wyndeshake, wem, freat or pynche, bye that bowe of my warrant. The beste colour of a bowe yt I fynde, is whan the backe and the bellye in woorkynge, be muche what after one maner, for such oftentymes in wearyng, do proue lyke virgin wax or golde, hauynge a fine longe grayne, euen from the one ende of the bowe, to the other: the short graine although suche proue well somtyme, are for ye most parte, very brittle. Of the makynge of the bowe, I wyll not greatly meddle, leste I shoulde seeme to enter into an other mannes occupation, whyche I can no skyll of. Yet I woulde desyre all bowyers to season theyr staues well, to woorke them and synke them well, to give the heetes convenient, and tyllerynges plentye. For thereby they shoulde bothe get them selues a good name, (And a good name encreseth a mannes profyt muche) and also do greate comodite to the hole Realme. If any men do offend in this poynte, I am afrayde they be those iourny me whiche labour more spedily to make manye bowes for theyr owne monye sake, than they woorke dilligently to make good bowes, for the common welth sake, not layinge before theyr eyes, thys wyse prouerbe.

Sone ynough, if wel ynough.

Wherwyth euere honest handye craftes man shuld measure, as it were wyth a rule, his worke withal. He that is a iourney man, and rydeth vpon an other mannes horse, yf he ryde an honest pace, no manne wyll dysalowe hym: But yf he make Poste haste, bothe he that oweth the horse, and he peraduenture also that afterwarde shal bye the horse, may chaûce to curse hym.

Suche hastinesse I am afrayde, maye also be found amonges some of the, whych through out ye Realme in diuerse places worke ye kinges Artillarie for war, thinkynge yf they get a bowe or a sheafe of arrowes to some fashion, they be good ynough for bearynge gere. And thus that weapon whiche is the chiefe defence of the Realme, verye ofte doth lytle seruyce to hym that shoulde vse it, bycause it is so negligently ewrought of him that shuld make it, when trewlye I suppose that nether ye bowe can be to good and chefe woode, nor yet to well seasoned or truly made, wyth hetynges and tillerynges, nether that shafte to good wood or to thorowely wrought, with the best pinion fedders that can be gotten, wherwith a man shall serue his prince, defende his countrie, and saue hym selfe frome his enemye. And I trust no man wyll be angrye wyth me for spekynge thus, but those which finde them selfe touched therin: which ought rather to be angrye wyth them selfe for doynge so, than to be miscontent with me for sayinge so. And in no case they ought to be displeased wyth me, seinge this is spoken also after that sorte, not for the notynge of anye person seuerallye, but for the amendynge of euerye one generallye. But turne we agayne to knowe a good shootynge bowe for oure purpose.

Euerye bowe is made eyther of a boughe, of a plante or of the boole of the tree. The boughe comonlye is verye knotty, and full of pinnes, weak, of small pithe, and sone wyll folowe the stringe, and seldome werith to anye fayre coloure, yet for chyldren & yonge beginners it maye serue well ynoughe. plante proueth many times wel, yf it be of a good and clene groweth, and for the pith of it is quicke ynoughe of cast, it wyl plye and bow far afore it breake, as al other yoge thinges do. The boole of ye tree is clenest wout knot or pin, hauinge a faste and harde woode by reasonne of hys full groweth, stronge and myghtye of cast, and best for a bow, yf the staues be euen clouen, and be afterwarde wroughte not ouerwharte the woode, but as the graine and streyght growyng of the woode leadethe a man, or elles by all reason it must sone breake, & that in many shiuers. This must be considered in the roughe woode, & when the bow staues be ouerwrought and facioned. For in dressing and pikynge it vp for a bow, it is to late to loke for it But yet in these poyntes as I sayd before you muste truste an honest bowyer, to put a good bow in youre hand, somewhat lookinge your selfe to those tokens whyche I shewed And you muste not sticke for a grote or .xii. d. more than a nother man would give yf it be a good bowe. For a good bow twise paide for is better than an ill bowe once broken.

Thus a shooter muste begyn not at the makynge of hys bowe lyke a bower, but at the byinge of hys bow lyke an Archere. And when his bow is bought and brought home, afore he truste muche vpon it, let hym trye and trym it after

thys sorte.

Take your bow in to the feeld, shote in hym, sinke hym wyth deade heauye shaftes, looke where he comethe moost, prouyde for that place betymes, leste it pinche and so freate: whe you have thus shot in him, and perceyued good shootynge woode in hym, you must have hym agayne to a good cunnynge, and trustie woorkeman, whyche shall cut hym shorter, and pike hym and dresse hym fytter, make hym comme rounde compace every where, and whippyng at the endes, but with discretion, lest he whyp in sunder or els freete, soner than he is ware of, he must also lay hym streght, if he be caste or otherwise nede require, and if he be flatte made, gather hym rounde, and so shall he bothe shoote the faster, for farre shootynge, and also the surer for nere pryckynge. PHI. What yf I come into a shoppe, and spye oute a bow, which shal both than please

me very wel whan I by him, and be also very fit and meete for me whan I shote in hym: so that he be both weake ynoughe for easye shootynge, and also quycke and spedye ynoughe for farre castynge, than I woulde thynke I shall nede no more businesse wyth him, but be contente wyth hym, and vse hym well ynoughe, and so by that meanes, auoyde bothe great trouble, and also some cost whiche you cunnynge archers very often put your selues vnto, beynge verye Englyshe men, neuer ceasynge piddelynge about your bowe & shaftes whan they be well, but eyther with shorting and pikynge your bowes, or els with newe fetheryng, peecynge and headinge your shaftes, can neuer haue done vntyll they be starke nought. TOX. Wel Philologe, surelye if I have any judgement at all in shootyng, it is no very great good token in a bowe, whereof nothyng whan it is newe and fresshe, nede be cutte away, euen as Cicero sayeth of a yonge manes wit and style, which you knowe better than I. For euerye newe thynge muste alwayes haue more than it neadeth, or elles it wyll not waxe better and better, but euer decaye, and be worse and worse. Newe ale if it runne not ouer the barrell whan it is newe tunned, wil sone lease his pith, and his head afore he be longe drawen on.

And lyke wyse as that colte whyche at the fyrste takynge vp, nedeth lytle breakyng and handlyng, but is fitte and gentle ynoughe for the saddle, seeldome or neuer proueth well, euen so that bowe whyche at the fyrste byinge, wythout any more proofe & trimmynge, is fit and easie to shoote in, shall neyther be profitable to laste longe, nor yet pleasaunt to shoote well. And therfore as a younge horse full of corage, wyth handlynge and breakinge, is brought vnto a sure pace and goynge, so shall a newe bowe fresshe and quicke of caste, by sinkyng & cuttyng, be brought to a stedfast shootyng. And an easie and gentle bow whan it is newe, is not muche vnlyke a softe spirited boye when he is younge. But yet as of an vnrulie boye with right handlyng, proueth oftenest of al a well ordered man: so of an vnfit and staffysh bow with good trimming, muste nedes folowe alwayes a stedfast shotynge bowe.

And suche a perfite bowe, whiche neuer wyll deceyue a man, excepte a man deceyue it, muste be had for that perfecte ende, whyche you looke for in shootinge. PHI. Well Toxophile, I see wel you be cunninger in this gere than I:

but put case that I have thre or fower suche good bowes, pyked and dressed, as you nowe speke of, yet I do remembre yt manye learned men do saye, that it is easier to gette a good thynge, than to saue and keepe a good thyng, wherfore if you can teache me as concernyng that poynte, you have satisfyed me plentifullye, as concernynge a bowe. TOX. Trulye it was the nexte thyng that I woulde have come vnto, for so the matter laye.

Whan you haue broughte youre bowe to suche a poynte, as I spake of, than you must haue an herde or wullen cloth waxed, wherwt euery day you must rubbe and chafe your bowe, tyll it shyne and glytter withall. Whyche thynge shall cause it bothe to be cleane, well fauoured, goodlye of coloure, and shall also bryng as it were a cruste, ouer it, that is to say, shall make it euery where on the outsyde, so slyppery and harde, that neyther any weete or wether can enter to hurte it, nor yet any freat or pynche, be able to byte vpon it: but that you shal do it great wrong before you breake it. This must be done oftentimes but specially when you come from shootynge.

Beware also whan you shoote, of youre shaft hedes, dagger, knyues or agglettes, lest they race your bowe, a thing as I sayde before, bothe vnsemely to looke on, and also daugerous for freates. Take hede also of mistie and dankyshe dayes, whiche shal hurte a bowe, more than any rayne. For then you muste

eyther alway rub it, or els leaue shootynge.

Your bowecase (this I dyd not promise to speake of, bycause it is without the nature of shootynge, or els I Bowecase. shoulde truble me wyth other thinges infinite more: yet seing it is a sauegarde for the bowe, somthynge I wyll saye of it) youre bowecase I saye, yf you ryde forthe, muste neyther be to wyde for youre bowes, for so shall one clap vpon an other, and hurt them, nor yet so strayte that scarse they can be thrust in, for that woulde laye them on syde & wynde them A bowecase of ledder, is not the best, for that is ofttymes moyste which hurteth the bowes very much. Therfore I haue sene good shooters which would have for everye bowe, a sere case made of wollen clothe, and than you maye putte .iii. or .iiii. of them so cased, in to a ledder case if you wyll. This wollen case shall bothe kepe them in sunder, and also wylle kepe a bowe in his full strengthe, that it neuer gyue for any wether. At home these wood cases be verye good for bowes to stande in. But take hede yt youre bowe stande not to nere a stone wall, for that wyll make hym moyste and weke, nor yet to nere any fier for that wyll make him shorte and brittle. And thus muche as concerning the sauying and keping of [y]our bowe: nowe you shall heare what thynges ye must auoyde, for feare of breakyng your bowe.

A shooter chaunseth to breake his bowe commonly .iiii. wayes, by the strynge, by the shafte, by drawyng to far, & by freates: By the stryng as I sayde afore, whan the strynge is eyther to shorte, to long, not surely put on, wyth one wap, or put croked on, or shorne in sundre wyth an euell nocke, or suffered to tarve ouer longe on. Whan the stryng fayles the bowe muste nedes breake, and specially in the myddes; because bothe the endes have nothing to stop them; but whippes so far backe, that the belly must nedes violentlye rise vp, the whyche you shall well perceyue in bendyng of a bowe backward. Therfore a bowe that followeth the strynge is least hurt with breakyng of strynges. By the shafte a bowe is broke ether when it is to short, and so you set it in your bow or when the nocke breakes for lytlenesse, or when the strynge slyppes wythoute the nocke for wydenesse, than you poule it to your eare and lettes it go, which must nedes breake the shafte at the leaste, and putte stringe and bow & al in ieopardy, bycause the strength of the bowe hath nothynge in it to stop the violence of it.

Thys kynde of breakynge is mooste perilouse for the standers by, for in such a case you shall se some tyme the ende of a bow flye a hoole score from a ma, and that moost commonly, as I haue marked oft the vpper ende of the bowe. The bow is drawne to far .ii. wayes. Eyther when you take a longer shafte then your owne, or els when you shyfte your hand to low or to hye for shootynge far. Thys waye pouleth the backe

in sunder, and then the bowe fleethe in manye peces.

So when you se a bowe broken, hauynge the bellye risen vp both wayes or tone, the stringe brake it. When it is broken in twoo peces in a maner euen of and specyallye in the vpper ende, the shafte nocke brake it.

When the backe is pouled a sunder in manye peeces, to farre

drawynge brake it.

These tokens eyther alwayes be trewe or els verye seldome mysse.

The fourthe thyng that breketh a bow is fretes, whych make a bowe redye and apte to breake by any of the .iii. wayes afore sayde. Freetes be in a shaft as well as in a bowe, and they be muche lyke a Canker, crepynge and encreasynge in those places in a bowe, whyche be weaker then other. And for thys purpose must your bowe be well trymmed and piked of a coning man that it may come rounde in trew compasse euery where. For freetes you must beware, yf youre bow haue a knot in the backe, lest the places whyche be nexte it, be not allowed strong ynoughe to bere wt the knotte, or elles the stronge knotte shall freate the weake places nexte it. Freates be fyrst litle pinchese, the whych whe you perceaue, pike the places about the pinches, to make them somewhat weker, and as well commynge as where it pinched, and so the pinches shall dye, and neuer encrease farther in to great freates.

Freates begynne many tymes in a pin, for there the good woode is corrupted, that it muste nedes be weke, and bycause it is weake, therfore it freates. Good bowyers therfore do rayse euery pyn & alowe it moore woode for feare of freatynge.

Agayne bowes moost commonlye freate vnder the hande, not so muche as some men suppose for the moistnesse of the hande, as for the heete of the hand: the nature of heate sayeth Aristotle is to lowse, and not to knyt fast, and the more lowser the more weaker, the weaker, the redier to freate. A bowe is not well made, whych hath not wood plentye in the hande. For yf the endes of the bowe be staffyshe, or a mans hande any thynge hoote the bellye must nedes sone frete. Remedie for fretes to any purpose I neuer hard tell of any, but onelye to make the freated place as stronge or stronger then any other. To fill vp the freate with lytle sheuers of a quill and glewe (as some saye wyll do wel) by reason must be starke nought.

For, put case the freete dyd cease then, yet the cause whiche made it freate a fore (and that is weakenesse of the place) bicause it is not taken away must nedes make it freate agayne. As for cuttyng out of freates wythe all maner of pecynge of bowes I wyll cleane exclude from perfite shootynge. For peced bowes be muche lyke owlde housen, whyche be more chargeable to repayre, than commodiouse to dwell in. Agayne to swadle a bowe much about wyth bandes, verye seldome dothe anye

good, excepte it be to kepe downe a spel in the backe, otherwyse bandes ether nede not when the bow is any thinge worthe, or els boote not whe it is marde & past best. And although I knowe meane and poore shooters, wyll vse peced and banded bowes sometyme bycause they are not able to get better when they woulde, yet I am sure yf they consyder it well, they shall fynde it, bothe lesse charge and more pleasure to ware at any tyme a couple of shyllynges of a new bowe than to bestowe .x. d of peacynge an olde bowe. For better is coste vpon somewhat worth, than spence vpon nothing worth. And thys I speke also bycause you woulde haue me referre all to perfitnesse in shootynge.

Moreouer there is an other thynge, whyche wyl sone cause a bowe be broken by one of the .iii. wayes whych be first spoken of, and that is shotyng in winter, when there is any froste. Froste is wheresoeuer is any waterish humour, as is in al woodes, eyther more or lesse, and you knowe that al thynges frosen and Isie, wyl rather breke than bende. Yet if a man must nedes shoote at any suche tyme, lette hym take hys bowe, and brynge it to the fyer, and there by litle and litle, rubbe and chafe it with a waxed clothe, whiche shall bring it to that poynt, yt he maye shote safelye ynough in it. This rubbyng with waxe, as I sayde before, is a great succour, agaynst all wete and moystnesse.

In the fyeldes also, in goyng betwyxt the pricks eyther wyth your hande, or elles wyth a clothe you muste keepe your bowe in suche a temper. And thus muche as concernynge youre bowe, howe fyrste to knowe what wood is best for a bowe, than to chose a bowe, after to trim a bowe, agayne to keepe it in goodnesse, laste of al, howe to saue it from al harm and euylnesse.

And although many men can saye more of a bow yet I trust these thynges be true, and almoste sufficient for the knowlege of a perfecte bowe. PHI. Surelye I beleue so, and yet I coulde haue hearde you talke longer on it: althogh I can not se, what maye be sayd more of it. Therfore excepte you wyll pause a whyle, you may go forwarde to a shafte.

TOX. What shaftes were made of, in oulde tyme authours do not so manifestlye shewe, as of bowes. Herodotus dotus doth tel, that in the flood of Nilus, ther

was a beast, called a water horse, of whose skinne after it was dried, the Egyptians made shaftes, and dartes on. The tree called *Cornus* was so common to make shaftes of, that in good authours of ye latyn tongue,

Cornus is taken for a shafte, as in Seneca, and that place of Virgill,

Volat Itala Cornus.

Virg. enei. 9

Yet of all thynges that euer I warked of olde authours, either greke or latin, for shaftes to be made of, there is nothing so comon as reedes. Herodotus in describynge the mightie hoost of Xerxes doth tell that thre great contries In Polym. vsed shaftes made of a rede, the Aethiopians, the Lycians (whose shaftes lacked fethers, where at I maruayle moste of all) and the men of Inde. The shaftes in Arrianus. 8. Inde were verye longe, a yarde and an halfe, as Arrianus doth saye, or at the least a yarde, as Q. Curt. 8. Q. Curtius doth saye, and therfore they gaue ye greater strype, but yet bycause they were so long, they were the more vnhansome, and lesse profitable to the men of Inde, as Curtius doeth tell.

In Crete and Italie, they vsed to have their shaftes of rede also. The best reede for shaftes grewe in Inde, and in Rhenus a flood of Italy.

Pli. 16. 36.

But bycause suche shaftes be neyther easie for Englishe men to get, and yf they were gotten scarse profitable for them to vse, I wyll lette them passe, and speake of those shaftes whyche Englysh men at this daye moste comonly do approue and allowe.

A shaft hath three principall partes, the stele, the fethers, and the head: whereof euerye one muste be seuerallye spoken of.

■ Steles be made of dyuerse woodes, as,

Brasell.
Turkie wood.
Fusticke.
Sugercheste.
Hardbeame.
Byrche.
Asshe.
Ooke.

Seruis tree. Hulder. Blackthorne. Beche. Elder. Aspe. Salow.

These wooddes as they be most commonly vsed, so they be mooste fit to be vsed: yet some one fytter then an other for diuers mennes shotinge, as shalbe toulde afterwarde. And in this pointe as in a bowe you muste truste an honest fletcher. Neuerthelesse al thoughe I can not teache you to make a bowe or a shafte, whiche belongeth to a bowyer and a fletcher to come to theyr lyuyng, yet wyll I shewe you some tokens to knowe a bowe & a shafte, whiche pertayneth to an Archer to

come to good shootynge.

A stele muste be well seasoned for Castinge, and it must be made as the grayne lieth & as it groweth or els it wyl neuer flye clene, as clothe cut ouertwhart and agaynste the wulle, can neuer hoose a manne cleane. A knottye stele maye be suffered in a bygge shafte, but for a lytle shafte it is nothynge fit, bothe bycause it wyll neuer flye far, and besydes that it is euer in danger of breakynge, it flieth not far bycause the strengthe of the shoote is hindred and stopped at the knotte, euen as a stone cast in to a plaine euen stil water, wyll make the water moue a greate space, yet yf there be any whirlynge plat in the water, the mouynge ceasethe when it commethe at the whyrlynge plat, whyche is not muche vnlyke a knotte in a shafte yf it be cosidered wel. So euery thyng as it is plaine and streight of hys owne nature so is it fittest for far mouynge. a stele whyche is harde to stade in a bowe, without knotte, and streighte (I meane not artificiallye streyghte as the fletcher dothe make it, but naturally streight as it groweth in the wood) is best to make a shaft of, eyther to go cleane, fly far or stand surely in any wedder. Now howe big, how small, how heuve, how lyght, how longe, how short, a shafte shoulde be particularlye for euerye man (seynge we must taulke of the generall nature of shootyng) can not be toulde no more than you Rhethoricians can appoynt any one kynde of wordes, of sentences, of fygures

fyt for euery matter, but euen as the man and the matter requyreth so the fyttest to be vsed. Therfore as concernynge those contraryes in a shafte, euery man muste auoyde them and draw to the meane of them, whyche meane is best in al thynges. Yet yf a man happen to offende in any of the extremes it is better to offend in want and scantnesse, than in to muche and outragiouse excedynge. As it is better to haue a shafte a lytle to shorte than ouer longe, somewhat to lyght, than ouer lumpysshe, a lytle to small, than a greate deale to big, whiche thyng is not onely trewlye sayde in shootynge, but in all other thynges that euer man goeth aboute, as in eatynge, taulkynge, and all other thynges lyke, whych matter was onse excellentlye disputed vpon, in the Scooles, you knowe when.

And to offend, in these contrarges cometh much yf men take not hede, throughe the kynd of wood, wherof the shaft is made: For somme wood beloges to ye excedyng part, some to ye scat part, some to ye meane, as Brasell, Turkiewood, Fusticke, Sugar cheste, & such lyke, make deade, heuy lupish, hobblyng shaftes Againe Hulder, black thorne, Serues tree, Beche, Elder, Aspe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr wekenes or lyghtenesse, make holow, starting, scudding, gaddynge shaftes. But Birche, Hardbeme, some Ooke, and some Asshe, beynge bothe stronge ynoughe to stande in a bowe, and also lyght ynoughe to flye far, are best for a meane, whiche is to be soughte oute in euery thinge. And althoughe I knowe that some me shoote so stronge, that the deade woodes be lyghte ynoughe for them, and other some so weeke, that the lowse woodes be lykewyse for them bigge ynoughe yet generally for the moost parte of men, the meane is the best. And so to conclude, that is alwayes beste for a man, whiche is metest for him. Thus no wood of his owne nature, is eyther to lyght or to heuy, but as the shooter is him selfe whyche dothe vse it. For that shafte whiche one yeare for a man is to lyghte and scuddinge, for the same selfe man the next yeare may chaunce be to heuy and hobblynge. Therfore can not I expresse, excepte generally, what is best wood for a shaft, but let euery ma when he knoweth his owne strength and the nature of euery wood, prouyde and fyt himselfe thereafter. Yet as concerning sheaffe Arrouse for war (as I suppose) it were better to make them of good Asshe, and not of Aspe, as they be now a dayes. For of

all other woodes that euer I proued Asshe being big is swiftest and agayne heuy to giue a greate stripe with all, whyche Aspe shall not doo. What heuynes doth in a stripe euery man by experience can tell, therfore Asshe being both swyfter and heuier is more fit for sheafe Arroes the Aspe, & thus muche for the best wood for shaftes.

Agayne lykewyse as no one wood can be greatlye meet for all kynde of shaftes, no more can one facion of the stele be fit for every shooter. For those that be lytle brested and big toward the hede called by theyr lykenesse taperfashio, reshe growne, and of some merrye fellowes bobtayles, be fit for them whiche shote vnder hande bycause they shoote wyth a softe lowse, and stresses not a shaft muche in the breste where the weyghte of the bowe lyethe as you maye perceyue by the werynge of every shafte.

Agayne the bygge brested shafte is fytte for hym, which shoteth right afore him, or els the brest being weke shoulde neuer wythstande that strong piththy kynde of shootynge, thus the vnderhande must haue a small breste, to go cleane awaye oute of the bowe, the forehande muste haue a bigge breste to bere the great myghte of the bowe. The shafte must be made rounde nothynge flat wyth out gal or wemme, for thys purpose. For bycause roundnesse (whether you take example in heauen or in earthe) is fittest shappe and forme both for fast mouing and also for sone percynge of any thynge. And therfore Aristotle saythe that nature hath made the raine to be round, bycause it shoulde the easelyer enter throughe the ayre.

The nocke of the shafte is dyuersly made, for some be greate and full, some hansome & lytle, some wyde, some narow, some depe, some shalowe, some round, some longe, some wyth one nocke, some wyth a double nocke, wherof every one hathe hys

propertye.

The greate and full nocke, maye be well felte, and many wayes they saue a shafte from brekynge. The hansome and lytle nocke wyll go clene awaye frome the hand, the wyde nocke is noughte, both for breakyng of the shafte and also for soden slyppynge oute of the strynge when the narrowe nocke doth auoyde bothe those harmes. The depe and longe nocke is good in warre for sure kepyng in of the strynge. The shalow, and rownde nocke is best for our purpose in prickyng for cleane

delyueraunce of a shoote. And double nockyng is vsed for double suerty of the shaft And thus far as concernynge a hoole stele.

Peecynge of a shafte with brasell and holie, or other heavy woodes, is to make ye ende compasse heavy with the fethers in fliyng, for the stedfaster shotyng. For if the ende were plumpe heavy wyth lead and the wood nexte it lyghte, the head ende woulde ever be downwardes, and never flye strayght.

Two poyntes in peecing be ynough, lest the moystnes of the earthe enter to moche into the peecinge, & so leuse the glue. Therfore many poyntes be more plesaunt to the eye, than

profitable for the vse.

Sume vse to peece theyr shaftes in the nocke wyth brasel, or holye, to counterwey, with the head, and I have sene sume for the same purpose, bore an hole a lytle bineth the nocke, and put leade in it. But yet none of these wayes be anye thing needful at al, for ye nature of a fether in flying, if a man marke it wel, is able to bear vp a wonderful weyght: and I thike suche peecing came vp first, thus: whan a good Archer hath broken a good shafte, in the fethers, & for the fantasie he hath had to it, he is lothe to leese it, & therfore doeth he peece it. And than by and by other eyther bycause it is gaye, or elles because they wyll have a shafte lyke a good archer, cutteth theyre hole shaftes, and peeceth them agayne: A thynge by my iudgement, more costlye than nedefull.

And thus haue you heard what wood, what fasshion, what nockynge, what peecynge a stele muste haue: Nowe foloweth

the fetherynge.

PHI. I woulde neuer haue thought you could haue sayd halfe so muche of a stele, and I thynke as concernyng the little fether and the playne head, there is but lytle to saye. TOX. Lytle, yes trulye: for there is no one thing, in al shoting, somoche to be loked on as the fether. For fyrste a question maye be asked, whether any other thing besyde a fether, be fit for a shaft or no? if a fether onelye be fit, whether a goose fether onely, or no? yf a goose fether be best, then whether there be any difference, as concernynge the fether of an oulde goose, and a younge goose: a gander, or a goose: a fennye goose, or an vplandish goose. Againe which is best fether in any goose, the ryght wing or the left wing, the pinion fether, or any other

fether: a whyte, blacke, or greye fether? Thirdly, in settyng on of your fether, whether it be pared or drawen wt a thicke rybbe, or a thinne rybbe (the rybbe is ye hard quill whiche deuydeth the fether) a long fether better or a shorte, set on nere the nocke, or farre from the nocke, set on streight, or som what bowyng? & whether one or two fethers runne on the bowe. Fourthly in couling or sheryng, whether high or lowe, whether somewhat swyne backed (I muste vse shoters wordes) or sadle backed, whether rounde, or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any tyme ought to be plucked, and how to be plucked. PHI. Surely Toxophile, I thynke manye fletchers (although daylye they haue these thinges in vre) if they were asked sodeynly, what they coulde saye of a fether, they could not saye so moch. But I praye you let me heare you more at large, expresse those thynges in a fether, the whiche you packed vp in so narrowe a rowme. And fyrst whether any other thyng may be vsed for a fether or not. TOX. That was ye fyrste poynte in dede, and bycause there followeth many after, I wyll hye apace ouer them, as one that had manye a myle to ride. Shaftes

Pl. 16. 36. I. Pol. 1. 10. Her. Polym. to haue had alwayes fethers Plinius in Latin, and Iulius Pollux in Greke, do playnlye shewe, yet onely the Lycians I reade in Herodotus to haue vsed shaftes without fedders. Onelye a fedder is

fit for a shafte for .ii. causes, fyrste bycause it is leathe weake to giue place to the bowe, than bycause it is of that nature, that it wyll starte vp after ye bow So, Plate, wood or horne can not serue, bycause the[y] wil not gyue place. Againe, Cloth, Paper, or Parchment can not serue, bycause they wyll not ryse after the bowe, therfore a fedder is onely mete, bycause it onelye wyl do bothe. Nowe to looke on the fedders of all maner of birdes, you shal se some so lowe weke and shorte, some so course, stoore and harde, and the rib so brickle, thin and narrow, that it can nether be drawen, pared, nor yet well set on, that except it be a swan for a dead shafte (as I knowe some good Archers haue vsed) or a ducke for a flyghte whiche lastes but one shoote, there is no fether but onelye of a goose that hath all commodities in And trewelye at a short but, which some mā doth vse, ye Pecock fether doth seldome kepe vp ye shaft eyther ryght or leuel, it is so roughe and heuy, so that many me which haue taken them vp for gayenesse, hathe layde them downe agayne

The schole of shoting.

for profyte, thus for our purpose, the Goose is best fether, for the best shoter. PHI. No that is not so, for the best shoter that euer was vsed other fethers. TOX. Ye are you so cunninge in shootynge I praye you who was that. PHI. Hercules whyche had hys shaftes fethered with Egles fethers Hesiod. in as Hesiodus dothe saye. TOX. Well as for Scuto. Her. Hercules, seynge nether water nor lande, heauen nor hell, coulde scarse contente hym to abyde in, it was no meruell thoughe a sely poore gouse fether could not plese him to shoote wythal, and agayne as for Egles they flye so hye and builde so far of, yt they be very hard to coe by. Yet welfare the gentle gouse which bringeth to a man euen to A Gouse. hys doore so manye excedynge commodities. For the gouse is mas coforte in war & in peace slepynge and wakynge. What prayse so euer is gyuen to shootynge the gouse may chalenge the beste parte in it. How well dothe she make a man fare at his table? Howe easelye dothe she make a man lye in hys bed? How fit euen as her fethers be onelye for shootynge, so be her quylles fytte onelye for wrytyng. PHILO. In deade Toxophyle that is the beste prayse you gaue to a gouse yet, and surelye I would have sayde you had bene to blame yf you had ouerskypte it. TOX. The Romaynes I trowe Philologe not so muche bycause a gouse wyth cryinge saued theyr Capitoliū and head toure wyth their golden Iupiter as Propertius doth say very pretely in thys verse.

Anseris et tutum uoce fuisse Iouem.

Id est.

Propertius.

Theues on a night had stolne Iupiter, had a gouse not a kekede.

Dyd make a golden gouse and set hir in the top of ye Capitoliū, & appoynted also the Censores to alow out of ye common hutche yearly stipēdes for ye findinge of certayne Geese, ye Romaynes did not I saye giue al thys honor to a gouse for yt good dede onely, but for other infinit mo which come daylye to a man by Geese, and surely yf I should declame in ye prayse of any maner of beest lyuyng, I would chose a gouse. But the gouse hath made vs flee to farre from oure matter. Now sir ye haue hearde howe a fether must be had, and that a goose fether onely. It foloweth of a yong gose and an oulde, and the residue belonging to a fether:

which thing I wyll shortlye course ouer: wherof, when you knowe the properties, you maye fitte your shaftes according to your shotyng, which rule you must observe in all other thynges too, bycause no one fashion or quantitie can be fitte for euery man, nomore than a shooe or a cote can be. The oulde goose fether is styffe and stronge, good for a wynde, and fyttest for a deed shaft: the yonge goose fether is weake and fyne, best for a swyfte shaft, and it must be couled at the first shering, somewhat hye, for with shoting, it wyll sattle and faule very moche. The same thing (although not so moche) is to be cosydered in a goose and a gander. A fenny goose, euen as her flesh is blacker, stoorer, vnholsomer, so is her fether for the same cause courser stoorer & rougher, & therfore I have heard very good fletchers saye, that the seconde fether in some place is better then the pinion in other some. Betwixt the winges is lytle differece, but that you must have diverse shaftes of one flight, fethered with diverse winges, for diverse windes: for if the wynde and the fether go both one way the shaft wyl be caryed to moche. The pinion fether as it hath the firste place in the winge, so it hath the fyrst place in good fetheringe. You maye knowe it afore it be pared, by a bought whiche is in it, and agayne when it is colde, by the thinnesse aboue, and the thicknesse at the grounde, and also by the stifnes and finesse which wyll cary a shaft better, faster and further, euen as a fine sayle cloth doth a shyppe.

The coulour of the fether is leste to be regarded, yet som what to be looked on: lest for a good whyte you have sometyme an yll greye. Yet surelye it standeth with good reaso to have the cocke fether black or greye, as it were to gyue a man warning to nocke ryght. The cocke fether is called that which stadeth aboue in right nocking, which if you do not observe the other fethers must nedes run on the bowe, and so marre your shote. And thus farre of the goodnesse and choyse of your fether: now foloweth the setting on. Wherin you must looke that your fethers be not drawen for hastinesse, but pared even and streyghte with diligence. The fletcher draweth a fether when he hath but one swappe at it with his knyfe, and then playneth it a lytle, with rubbynge it ouer his knyfe. He pareth it when he taketh leysure and hede to make every parte of the ryb apt to stand streight, and even on vpon the stele.

This thing if a man take not heede on, he maye chaunce haue cause to save so of his fletcher, as in dressinge of meate is communelye spoken of Cookes: and that is, that God sendeth vs good fethers, but the deuyll noughtie Fletchers. Yf any fletchers heard me saye thus, they wolde not be angrye with me, except they were yll fletchers: and yet by reason, those fletchers too, ought rather to amend them selues for doing yll, then be angry with me for saying truth. The ribbe in a styffe fether may be thinner, for so it wyll stande cleaner on: but in a weake fether you must leaue a thicker ribbe, or els yf the ryb which is the foundacion and grounde, wherin nature hath set euerye clefte of the fether, be taken to nere the fether, it muste nedes folowe, that the fether shall faule, & droupe downe, euen as any herbe doeth whyche hath his roote to nere taken on with a spade. The lengthe and shortnesse of the fether, serueth for diuers shaftes, as a long fether for a long heavy, or byg shafte, the shorte fether for the contrary. Agayne the shorte may stande farther, the longe nerer the nocke. Youre fether muste stande almooste streyght on, but yet after that sorte, yt it maye turne rounde in flyinge. And here I consider the wonderfull nature of shootynge, whiche standeth all togyther by that fashion, which is moste apte for quicke mouynge, and that is by roundenesse. For firste the bowe must be gathered rounde, in drawyng it must come rounde compasse, the strynge muste be rounde, the stele rounde, the beste nocke rounde, the feather shorne somwhat rounde, the shafte in flyenge, muste turne rounde, and if it flye far, it flyeth a round compace. For eyther aboue or benethe a rounde copace, hyndereth the flyinge. Moreouer bothe the fletcher in makynge your shafte, and you in nockynge your shafte, muste take heede that two fethers equally erunne on the bowe. For yf one fether runne alone on the bowe, it shal quickely be worne, and shall not be able to matche with the other fethers, and agayne at the lowse, yf the shafte be lyght, it wyl starte, if it be heuve, it wil hoble. And thus as concernyng settyng on of your fether. Nowe of coulynge.

To shere a shafte hyghe or lowe, muste be as the shafte is heavy or lyght, great or lytle, long or short The swyne backed fashion, maketh the shaft deader, for it gathereth more ayer than the saddle backed, & therfore the saddle backe is surer for daunger of wether, & fitter for smothe fliing. Agayn to shere a shaft rounde, as they were wount somtime to do, or after the triangle fashion, whyche is muche vsed nowe a dayes, bothe be good. For roundnesse is apte for flipnge of his owne nature, and all maner of triangle fashion, (the sharpe poynte goyng before) is also naturally apte for quycke entrynge, and therfore sayth Cicero, that cranes taught by nature, obserue De nat. deor. in flyinge a triangle fashion alwayes, bycause it is so apt to perce and go thorowe the ayer wythall. Laste of all pluckynge of fethers is noughte, for there is no suerty in it, therfore let euery archer haue such shaftes, that he maye bothe knowe them and trust them at euery chaunge of wether. Yet if they must nedes be plucked, plucke them as litle as can be, for so shal they be the lesse vnconstante. And thus I have knit vp in as shorte a roume as I coulde, the best fethers fetheringe and coulinge of a shafte. PHI. I thynke surelye you have so taken vp the matter wyth you, yt you have lefte nothynge behinde you. Nowe you have brought a shafte to the head, whiche if it were on, we had done as concernyng all instrumentes belongyng to shootynge.

TOX. Necessitie, the inuentour of all goodnesse (as all authours in a maner, doo saye) amonges all other thinges inuented a shaft heed, firste to saue the ende from breakyng, then it made it sharpe to stycke better, after it made it of strog matter, to last better: Last of all experience and wysedome of men, hathe brought it to suche a perfitnesse, that there is no one thing so profitable, belongyng to artillarie, either to stryke a mannes enemye sorer in warre, or to shoote nerer the marke at home, then is a fitte heed for both purposes. For if a shaft lacke a heed, it is worth nothynge for neither vse. Therfore seinge heedes be so necessary, they must of necessitie, be well looked vpon Heedes for warre, of longe tyme haue ben made, not onely of diuers matters, but also of diuers fashions The Troians had heedes of yron, as this verse spoken of Pandarus,

sheweth:

Vp to the pappe his string did he pull, his shaft to the harde yron. Hiados. 4.

The Grecians had heedes of brasse, as Vlysses shaftes were

heeded, when he slewe Antinous, and the other wowers of Penelope.

Quite through a dore, flewe a shafte with a brasse heed.
Odysse. 21.

It is playne in Homer, where Menelaus was wounded of Pandarus shafte, yt the heedes were not glewed on, but tyed on with a string, as the comentaries in Greke playne-lye tell. And therfore shoters at that tyme to cary their shaftes withoute heedes, vntill they occupyed them, and than set on an heade as it apereth in Homer the .xxi. booke Odyssei, where Penelope brought Vlixes bowe downe amonges the gentlemen, whiche came on wowing to her, that he whiche was able to bende it and drawe it, might inioye her, and after her folowed a mayde sayth Homer, carienge a bagge full of heades, bothe of iron and brasse.

The men of Scythia, vsed heades of brasse. The men of Inde vsed heades of yron The Ethiopians vsed heades of a harde sharpe stone, as bothe Herodotus and Pollux do tel. The Germanes as Cornelius Tacitus doeth saye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone, and many countryes bothe of olde tyme and nowe, vse heades of horne, but of all other yrō and style muste nedes be the fittest for heades.

Iulius Pollux calleth otherwyse than we doe, where the fethers be the head, and that whyche we call the head, he calleth the poynte.

1. Pol. 1:10.

Fashion of heades is divers and that of olde tyme: two maner of arrowe heades sayeth Pollux, was vsed in olde tyme. The one he calleth öykivos descrybynge it thus, hauyng two poyntes or barbes, lookyng backewarde to the stele and the fethers, which surely we call in Englishe a brode arrowe head or a swalowe tayle. The other he calleth ylwxis, hauing .ii. poyntes stretchyng forwarde, and this Englysh men do call a forkehead: bothe these two kyndes of heades, were vsed in Homers dayes, for Teucer vsed forked heades, sayinge thus to Agamemnon.

Eighte good shaftes have I shot sithe I came, eche one wyth a forke heade.

Iliad. 8.

Pandarus heades and Vlysses heades were broode arrow

heades, as a man maye learne in Homer that woulde be curiouse in knowyng that matter. Hercules vsed forked heades, but yet they had thre pointes or forkes, when other mennes Plutarchus had but twoo. The Parthyans at that great battell in Crasso. where they slewe ritche Crassus and his sonne vsed brode Arrowe heades, whyche stacke so sore that the Romaynes could not poule them out agayne. Commodus the Emperoure vsed forked heades, whose facion Herodiane doeth Herodia. 1. lyuely and naturally describe, sayinge that they were lyke the shap of a new mone wherewyth he would smite of the heade of a birde and neuer misse, other facion of heades haue not I red on. Our Englyshe heades be better in war than eyther forked heades, or brode arrowe heades. For firste the ende beynge lyghter they flee a great deele the faster, and by the same reason gyueth a far sorer stripe. Yea & I suppose if ye same lytle barbes which they haue, were clene put away, they shuld be far better. For thys euery ma doth graunt, yt a shaft as log as it flyeth, turnes, and wha it leueth turnyng it leueth goyng any farther. And euery thynge that enters by a turnynge and boring facion, the more flatter it is, the worse it enters, as a knife thoughe it be sharpe yet because of the edges, wil not bore so wel as a bodkin, for euery rounde thynge enters beste & therefore nature, sayeth Aristotle, made the rayne droppes rounde for quicke percynge the ayre. Thus, eyther shaftes turne not in flyeng, or els our flatte arrowe heades stoppe the shafte in entrynge. PHI. But yet Toxophile to holde your communication a lytle I suppose the flat heade is better, bothe bycause it maketh a greter hoole, and also bycause it stickes TOX. These two reasons as they be bothe trewe, so they be both nought. For fyrst the lesse hoole, yf it be depe, is the worst to heale agayn: whe a man shoteth at hys enemy, he desyreth rather yt it should enter far, than stick fast. For what remedye is it I praye you for hym whych is smitten wt a depe wounde to poull out the shaft quickely, except it be to haste his death spedely? thus heades whyche make a lytle hole & depe, be better in war, than those which make a great hole and sticke fast in.

Iulius Pollux maketh mencion of certayne kindes of heades for war which bear fyre in them, and scripture also speaketh somwhat of the same.

Herodotus doth tell a wonderfull pollicy to be done by Xerxses what tyme he beseged the great Toure in Athenes: He made his Archers binde there shafte heades aboute wyth towe, and than set it on fyre and shoote the, whych thyng done by many Archers set all the places on fyre, whych were of matter to burne: and besydes that dased the men wythin, so yt they knewe not whyther to turne them. But to make an ende of all heades for warre I woulde wyshe that the head makers of Englande shoulde make their sheafe arrowe heades more harder poynted then they be: for I my selfe haue sene of late suche heades set vpo sheafe Arrowes, as ye officers yf they had sene them woulde not haue bene content wyth all.

Now as concernyng heades for pryckyng, which is oure purpose, there be dyuerse kyndes, some be blonte heades, some sharpe, some bothe blonte and sharpe. The blont heades men vse bycause they perceaue them to be good, to kepe a lengthe wyth all, they kepe a good lengthe, bycause a man poulethe them no ferder at one tyme than at another. For in felynge the plompe ende alwayes equally he may lowse them. Yet in a winde, and agaynste the wynd the wether hath so much power on the brode end, yt no man can kepe no sure lengthe, wyth such a heade. Therfore a blont hede in a caulme or downe

a wind is very good, otherwyse none worse.

Sharpe heades at the ende wythout anye shoulders (I call that the shoulder in a heade whyche a mans finger shall feele afore it come to the poynte) wyll perche quycklye throughe a wynde, but yet it hath .ii. discommodities, the one that it wyll kepe no lengthe, it kepeth no lengthe, bycause no manne can poule it certaynly as far one tyme as at an other: it is not drawen certaynlye so far one tyme as at an other, bycause it lackethe shouldrynge wherwyth as wyth a sure token a man myghte be warned when to lowse, and also bycause menne are afrayde of the sharpe poynt for settyng it in ye bow. The seconde incomoditie is when it is lyghted on ye ground, ye smal poynte shall at euerye tyme be in leopardye of hurtynge, whyche thynge of all other wyll sonest make the shafte lese the lengthe. Now when blonte heades be good to kepe a lengthe wythall, yet noughte for a wynde, sharpe heades good to perche the wether wyth al, yet nought for a length, certayne heademakers

dwellyng in London perceyuynge the commoditie of both kynde of heades ioyned wyth a discommoditie, inuented newe files and other instrumentes where wyth [t]he[y] broughte heades for pryckynge to such a perfitnesse, that all the commodities of the twoo other heades should be put in one heade wyth out anye discommoditie at all. They made a certayne kynde of heades whyche men call hie rigged, creased, or shouldred heades, or syluer spone heades, for a certayne lykenesse that suche heades

haue with the knob ende of some syluer spones.

These heades be good both to kepe a length withal and also to perche a wynde wythal, to kepe a length wythall bycause a man maye certaynly poule it to the shouldrynge euery shoote and no farther, to perche a wynde wythall bycause the pointe from the shoulder forwarde, breketh the wether as al other sharpe thynges doo. So the blonte shoulder seruethe for a sure lengthe kepynge, the poynte also is euer fit, for a roughe and greate wether percyng. And thus much as shortlye as I could. as concernyng heades both for war & peace. PHI. there no cunning as concerning setting on of ye head? Wel remebred. But that poynt belongeth to fletchers, yet you may desyre hym to set youre heade, full on, and close on. Ful on is whan the wood is be[n]t hard vp to the ende or stoppynge of the heade, close on, is when there is lefte wood on euerye syde the shafte, ynoughe to fyll the head withall, or when it is neyther to little nor yet to greate. If there be any faulte in anye of these poyntes, ye head whan it lyghteth on any hard stone or grounde wil be in ieoperdy, eyther of breakynge, or els otherwyse hurtynge. Stoppynge of heades eyther wyth leade, or any thynge els, shall not nede now, bycause euery siluer spone, or showldred head is stopped of it selfe. Shorte heades be better than longe: For firste the longe head is worse for the maker to fyle strayght compace euery waye: agayne it is worse for the fletcher to set strayght on: thyrdlye it is alwayes in more ieoperdie of breakinge, whan it is on. And nowe I trowe Philologe, we have done as concernynge all Instrumentes belonging to shootinge, whiche every sere archer ought to prouyde for hym selfe. And there remayneth .ii. thynges behinde, whiche be generall or comon to euery man the Wether & the Marke, but bicause they be so knit wyth shootynge strayght, or kepynge of a lengthe, I wyll deferre them to that place, and now we will come (God wyllyng) to handle oure instrumentes, the thing that every man desireth to do wel. PHI. If you can teache me so well to handle these instrumetes as you have described them, I suppose I shalbe an archer good ynough. TOX. To learne any thing (as you knowe better than I Philologe) & specially to do a thing w' a mannes handes, must be done if a man woulde be excellent, in his youthe. Yonge trees in gardens, which lacke al senses, and beastes wout reson, when they be yong, may with handling and teaching, be brought to wonderfull thynges. And this is not onely true in natural thinges, but in artificiall thinges to, as the potter most connyngly doth cast his pottes whan his claye is softe & workable, and waxe taketh printe whan it is warme, & leathie weke, not whan claye and waxe be hard and oulde: and euen so, euerye man in his youthe, bothe with witte and body is moste apte and pliable to receyue any cunnyng that shulde be taught hym.

This comunication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde, to whom nexte God, I ought to refer for his manifolde benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnyng, whiche god hath lent me: & for his sake do I owe my seruice to all other of the name & noble house of the Wyngfeldes, bothe in woord and dede. Thys worshypfull man hath euer loued and vsed, to haue many children brought vp in learnynge in his house amonges whome I my selfe was one. For whom at terme tymes he woulde bryng downe from Londo bothe bowe and shaftes. And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the fyelde, & se them shoote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilfauouredlye, shulde be mocked of his felowes, til he shot better.

Woulde to god all Englande had vsed or wolde vse to lay the foundacion of youth, after the example of this worshipful man in bringyng vp chyldren in the Booke and the Bowe: by whiche two thynges, the hole common welth both in peace and warre is chefelye ruled and defended wythall.

But to our purpose, he that muste come to this high perfectnes in shootyng whiche we speake of, muste nedes begin to learne it in hys youthe, the omitting of whiche thinge in Englande, bothe maketh fewer shooters, and also euery man that is a shoter, shote warse than he myght, if he were taught. PHI. Euen as I knowe that this is true, whiche you saye, euen so Toxophile, haue you quyte discouraged me, and drawen my minde cleane from shootynge, seinge by this reason, no man yt hath not vsed it in his youthe can be excellent in it. And I suppose the same reson woulde discourage many other mo, yf they hearde you talke after this sorte. TOX. This thyng Philologe, shall discourage no man that is wyse. For I wyll proue yt wisdome maye worke the same thinge in a man, that nature doth in a chylde.

A chylde by thre thinges, is brought to excellencie. By Aptnesse, Desire, and Feare: Aptnesse maketh hym pliable lyke waxe to be formed and fashioned, euen as a man woulde haue hym. Desyre to be as good or better, than his felowes: and Feare of them whome he is vnder, wyl cause hym take great labour and payne with diligent hede, in learnynge any thinge, wherof procedeth at the laste excellency and perfectnesse.

A man maye by wisdome in learning any thing, and specially to shoote, haue thre lyke commodities also, wherby he maye, as it were become younge agayne, and so attayne to excellencie. For as a childe is apte by naturall youth, so a man by vsyng at the firste weake bowes, far vnderneth his strength, shal be as pliable and readye to be taught fayre shotyng as any chylde: and daylye vse of the same, shal both kepe hym in fayer shotyng, and also at ye last bryng hym to stronge shootynge.

And in stede of the feruente desyre, which prouoketh a chylde to be better than hys felowe, lette a man be as muche stirred vp with shamefastnes to be worse than all other. And the same place that feare hathe in a chylde, to compell him to take peyne, the same hath loue of shotyng in a man, to cause hym forsake no labour, withoute whiche no man nor chylde can be excellent. And thus whatsoeuer a chylde may be taught by Aptnesse, Desire, & Feare, the same thing in shootynge, maye a man be taughte by weake bowes, Shamefastnesse and Loue.

And hereby you may se that that is true whiche Cicero sayeth, that a man by vse, may be broughte to a newe nature.

And this I dare be bould to saye, that any man whiche will wisely begynne, and constantly perseuer in this trade of learning to shote, shall attayne to perfectnesse therin. PHI. This communication Toxophile, doeth please me verye well, and nowe I perceyue that moste generally & chefly youthe muste be taughte to shoote, and secondarily no man is debarred therfrom excepte it be more thorough his owne negligence for bicause he wyll not learne, than any disabilitie, bicause he can Therfore seyng I wyll be glad to folowe your cousell in chosynge my bowe and other instrumentes, and also am ashamed that I can shote no better tha I can, moreouer hauynge suche a loue toward shotynge by your good reasons to day, that I wyll forsake no labour in the exercise of the same, I beseche you imagyn that we had bothe bowe and shaftes here, and teache me how I should handle them, and one thynge I desyre you, make me as fayre an Archer as you

For thys I am sure in learnynge all other matters, nothynge is broughte to the moost profytable vse, which is not handled after the moost cumlye fasiō. As masters of fēce haue no stroke fit ether to hit an other or els to defende hym selfe, whyche is not ioyned wyth a wonderfull cumlinesse. A Cooke cā not chop hys herbes neither quickelye nor hansomlye excepte he kepe suche a mesure wyth hys choppynge kniues as woulde delyte a manne bothe to se hym and heare hym.

Euerye hand craft man that workes best for hys owne profyte, workes most semelye to other mens sight. Agayne in buyldynge a house, in makynge a shyppe, euery parte the more hansomely they be ioyned for profyt and laste, the more cumlye they be fashioned to euery mans syght and eye. Nature it selfe taught men to ioyne alwayes welfauourednesse wt profytablenesse. As in man, that ioynt or pece which is by anye chaunce depriued of hys cumlynesse the same is also debarred of hys vse and profytablenesse.

As he that is gogle eyde and lokes a squinte hath both hys countenaunce clene marred, and hys sight sore blemmyshed, and so in all other members lyke. Moreouer what tyme of the yeare bryngeth mooste profyte wyth it for mans vse, the same also couereth and dekketh bothe earthe and trees wyth moost culynesse for mans pleasure. And that tyme whych

takethe awaye the pleasure of the grounde, carieth wt hym also the profyt of the grounde, as every man by experience knoweth in harde and roughe winters. Some thynges there be whych have no other ende, but onely cumlynesse, as payntyng, and Daunsing. And vertue it selfe is nothynge eles but cumlynesse, as al Philosophers do agree in opinion, therfore seynge that whych is best done in anye matters, is alwayes moost cumlye done as both Plato and Cicero in manye places do proue, and daylye experience dothe teache in other thynges, I praye you as I sayde before teatche me to shoote as fayre, and welfauouredly as you can imagen.

TOX. Trewlye Philologe as you proue verye well in other matters, the best shootynge, is alwayes the moost cumlye shootynge but thys you know as well as I that Crassus shewethe in Cicero that as cumlinesse is the chefe poynt, & most to be sought for in all thynges, so cumlynesse onlye, can neuer be taught by any Arte or craft. But may be perceyued well when it is done, not described wel how it should be done.

Yet neuerthelesse to comme to it there be manye waye whych wayes men haue assayde in other matters, as yf a man would followe in learnynge to shoote faire, the noble paynter Zeuxes in payntyng Helena, whyche to make his Image bewtifull dyd chose out .v. of the fayrest maydes in al the countrie aboute, and in beholdynge them conceyued & drewe out suche an Image that it far exceded al other, bycause the comelinesse of them al was broughte in to one moost perfyte comelinesse: So lykewyse in shotynge yf a man, woulde set before hys eyes .v. or .vi. of the fayrest Archers that euer he saw shoote, and of one learne to stande, of a nother to drawe, of an other to lowse, and so take of euery man, what euery man coulde do best, I dare saye he shoulde come to suche a comlynesse as neuer man came to yet. As for an example, if the moost comely poynte in shootynge that Hewe Prophete the Kynges seruaunte hath and as my frendes Thomas and Raufe Cantrell doth vse wt the moost semelye facyons that iii. or iiii. excellent Archers haue beside, were al ioyned in one, I am sure all men woulde wonder at ye excellencie of it. And this is one waye to learne to shoote fayre. PHI. This is very wel truly, but I praye you teache me somewhat of shootyng fayre youre selfe. TOX. I can teache you to shoote fayre, euen as

Socrates taught a man ones to knowe God, for when he axed hym what was God: nave sayeth he I can tell you better what God is not, as God is not yll, God is vnspeakeable, vnsearcheable and so forth: Euen lykewyse can I saye of fayre shootyng, it hath not this discommodite with it nor that discommoditie, and at last a man maye so shifte all the discommodities from shootynge that there shall be left no thynge behynde but fayre shootynge. And to do this the better you must remember howe that I toulde you when I descrybed generally the hole nature of shootyng that fayre shotyng came of these thynges, of standynge, nockynge, drawynge, howldynge and lowsynge, the whych I wyll go ouer as shortly as I can, describynge the discommodities that men comonlye vse in all partes of theyr bodies, that you yf you faulte in any such maye knowe it & so go about to amend it. Faultes in Archers do excede the number of Archers, whyche come wyth vse of shootynge wythoute teachynge. Vse and custome separated from knowlege and learnynge, doth not onely hurt shootynge, but the moost weyghtye thynges in the worlde beside: And therfore I maruayle moche at those people whyche be the mayneteners of vses wtoute knowledge hauvinge no other worde in theyr mouthe but thys vse, vse, custome, custome. Suche men more wylful than wyse, beside other discommo[di]ties, take all place and occasion from al amendmet. And thys I speake generally of vse and custome.

Whych thynge yf a learned man had it in hande yt woulde applye it to any one matter, he myght handle it wonderfullye. But as for shootyng, vse is the onely cause of all fautes in it and therfore chylderne more easly and soner maye be taught to shote excellentlye then men, bycause chylderne may be taught to shoote well at the fyrste, men haue more payne to vnlearne theyr yll vses, than they haue laboure afterwarde to come to good shootynge.

All the discommodities whiche ill custome hath graffed in archers, can neyther be quycklye poulled out, nor yet sone

reckened of me, they be so manye.

Some shooteth, his head forwarde as though he woulde byte the marke: an other stareth wyth hys eyes, as though they shulde flye out: An other winketh with one eye, and loketh with the other: Some make a face with writhing theyr mouthe and countenaunce so, as though they were doyng you wotte what: An other blereth out his tonge: An other byteth his lyppes: An other holdeth his necke a wrye. In drawyng some fet suche a compasse, as thoughe they woulde tourne about, and blysse all the feelde: Other heaue theyr hand nowe vp nowe downe, that a man can not decerne wherat they wolde shote, an other waggeth the vpper ende of his bow one way, the neyther ende an other waye. An other wil stand poyntinge his shafte at the marke a good whyle and by and by he wyll gyue hym a whip, and awaye or a man wite. An other maketh suche a wrestling with his gere, as thoughe he were able to shoote no more as longe as he lyued. An other draweth softly to ye middes, and by and by it is gon, you can not knowe howe.

An other draweth his shafte lowe at the breaste, as thoughe he woulde shoote at a rouynge marke, and by and by he lifteth his arme vp pricke heyghte. An other maketh a wrynchinge with hys backe, as though a manne pynched hym behynde.

An other coureth downe, and layeth out his buttockes, as

though he shoulde shoote at crowes.

An other setteth forwarde hys lefte legge, and draweth backe wyth head and showlders, as thoughe he pouled at a rope, or els were afrayed of ye marke. An other draweth his shafte well, vntyll wythin .ii. fyngers of the head, and than he stayeth a lyttle, to looke at hys marke, and that done, pouleth it vp to the head, and lowseth: whych waye although sûme excellent shooters do vse, yet surely it is a faulte, and good mennes faultes are not to be followed.

Summe men drawe to farre, summe to shorte, summe to slowlye, summe to quickely, summe holde ouer longe, summe lette go ouer sone.

Summe sette theyr shafte on the grounde, and fetcheth him vpwarde. An other poynteth vp towarde the skye, and so bryngeth hym downewardes.

Ones I sawe a manne whyche vsed a brasar on his cheke, or elles he had scratched all the skynne of the one syde, of his

face, with his drawynge hand.

An other I sawe, whiche at euerye shoote, after the loose, lyfted vp his ryght legge so far, that he was euer in ieoperdye of faulyng.

Summe stampe forwarde, and summe leape backwarde. All these faultes be eyther in the drawynge, or at the loose: wt many other mo whiche you may easelye perceyue, and so go about to auoyde them.

Nowe afterwarde whan the shafte is gone, men haue manye faultes, whyche euell Custome hath broughte them to, and specially in cryinge after the shafte, & speakynge woordes scarce honest for suche an honest pastyme.

Suche woordes be verye tokens of an ill mynde, and manifeste signes of a man that is subjecte to inmesurable affections. Good mennes eares do abhor them, and an honest man therfore wyl auoyde them. And besydes those whiche muste nedes have theyr tongue thus walkynge, other men vse other fautes as some will take theyr bowe and writhe & wrinche it, to poule in his shafte, when it flyeth wyde, as yf he draue a carte. Some wyl gyue two or .iii. strydes forwarde, daunsing and hoppynge after his shafte, as long as it flyeth, as though he were a mad man. Some which feare to be to farre gone, runne backewarde as it were to poule his shafte backe. Another runneth forwarde, whan he feareth to be short, heavynge after his armes, as though he woulde helpe his shafte to flye. An other writhes or runneth a syde, to poule in his shafte strayght. One lifteth vp his heele, and so holdeth his foote still, as longe as his shafte flyeth. An other casteth his arme backewarde after the lowse. And an other swynges hys bowe aboute hym, as it were a man with a staffe to make roume in a game place. And manye other faultes there be, whiche nowe come not to my remēbraunce. Thus as you have hearde, many archers wyth marrynge theyr face and countenaunce, wyth other partes, of theyr bodye, as it were menne that shoulde daunce antiques, be farre from the comelye porte in shootynge, whiche he that woulde be excellent muste looke for.

Of these faultes I haue verie many my selfe, but I talke not of my shootynge, but of the generall nature of shootynge. Nowe ymagin an Archer that is cleane wythout al these faultes & I am sure euerye man would be delyted to se hym shoote.

And althoughe suche a perfyte cumlynesse can not be expressed wyth any precepte of teachyng, as Cicero and other learned menne do saye, yet I wyll speake (accordyng to my

lytle knowlege) that thing in it, whych yf you folowe, althoughe you shall not be wythout fault, yet your fault shal neyther quickly be perceued, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that stande by. Standyng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowsyng, done as they shoulde be done, make fayre shootynge.

The fyrste poynte is when a man shoulde shote, to take suche footyng and standyng as shal be both cumlye to the eye and profytable to hys vse, settyng hys countenaunce and al the other partes of hys bodye after suche a behauiour and porte, that bothe al hys strengthe may be employed to hys owne moost auaûtage, and hys shoot made and handled to other mens pleasure and delyte. A man must not go to hastely to it, for that is rashnesse, nor yet make to much to do about it, for yt is curiositie, ye one fote must not stande to far from the other, leste he stoupe to muche whyche is vnsemelye, nor yet to nere together, leste he stande to streyght vp, for so a man shall neyther vse hys strengthe well, nor yet stande stedfastlye.

The meane betwyxt bothe must be kept, a thing more pleasaunte to behoulde when it is done, than easie to be taught howe it shoulde be done.

To nocke well is the easiest poynte of all, and there in is no cunninge, but onelye dylygente hede gyuyng, to set hys shaft neyther to hye nor to lowe, but euen streyght ouertwharte hys bowe. Vnconstante nockynge maketh a man leese hys lengthe.

And besydes that, yf the shafte hande be hye and the bowe hande lowe, or contrarie, bothe the bowe is in ieopardye of brekynge, and the shafte, yf it be lytle, wyll start: yf it be great it wyll hobble. Nocke the cocke fether vpward alwayes as I toulde you whe I described the fether. And be sure alwayes yt your stringe slip not out of the nocke, for than al is in ieopardye of breakynge.

Drawynge well is the best parte of shootyng. Men in oulde tyme vsed other maner of drawynge than we do. They vsed to drawe low at the brest, to the ryght pap and no farther, and this to be trew is playne liad. 4. in Homer, where he descrybeth Pandarus shootynge.

Vp to the pap his stringe dyd he pul, his shafte to the hard heed.

The noble women of Scythia vsed the same fashyon of shootyng low at the brest, and bicause their lefte pap hindred theyr shootynge at the lowse they cut it of when they were yonge, and therfore be they called in lackynge theyr pap Amazones. Nowe a dayes contrarye wyse we drawe to the ryghte eare and not to the pap. Whether the olde waye in drawynge low to the pap, or the new way to draw a loft to the eare be better, an excellente wryter in Procopius Greke called Procopius doth saye hys mynde, shewyng yt the oulde fashyon in drawing to ye pap was nought, of no pithe, and therfore saith Procopius: is Artyllarye dispraysed in Homer whych calleth it οὐτιδανόν. I. Weake and able to do no good. Drawyng to the eare he prayseth greatly, whereby men shoote both stronger and longer: drawynge therfore to the eare is better than to drawe at the breste. And one thyng commeth into my remembraunce nowe Philologe when I speake of drawyng, that I neuer red of other kynde of shootyng, than drawing wyth a mas hand ether to the breste or eare: This thyng haue I sought for in Homer Herodotus and Plutarch, and therfore I meruayle how crosbowes came fyrst vp, of the which I am sure a man shall finde lytle mention made on in any good Authour. Leo the Emperoure woulde have hys souldyers drawe quycklye in warre, for that maketh a shaft flie a pace. In shootynge at the pryckes, hasty and quicke drawing is neyther sure nor yet cumlye. Therfore to drawe easely and vniformely, that is for to saye not waggyng your hand, now vpwarde, now downewarde, but alwayes after one fashion vntil you come to the rig or shouldring of ye head, is best both for profit & semelinesse. Holdynge must not be longe, Holding. for it bothe putteth a bowe in ieopardy, & also marreth a mans shoote, it must be so lytle yt it maye be perceyued better in a mans mynde when it is done, than seene wt a mans eyes when it is in doyng.

Lowsynge muste be muche lyke. So quycke and hard yt it be wyth oute all girdes, so softe and gentle that the shafte flye not as it were sente out of a bow case. The meane betwixt bothe, whyche is perfyte lowsynge is not so hard to be folowed in shootynge as it is to be descrybed in teachyng. For cleane lowsynge you must take

hede of hyttynge any thynge aboute you. And for the same purpose Leo the Emperour would haue al Archers in war to haue both theyr heades pouled, and there berdes shauen leste the heare of theyr heades shuld stop the syght of the eye, the heere of theyr berdes hinder the

course of the strynge.

And these preceptes I am sure Philologe yf you folowe in standyng, nockyng, drawynge, holdynge, and lowsynge, shal bryng you at the last to excellent fayre shootynge. PHI. All these thynges Toxophile althoughe I bothe nowe perceyue them thorowlye, and also wyll remember them dilligently: yet to morowe or some other day whe you have leasure we wyll go to the pryckes, and put them by lytle and lytle in experience. For teachynge not followed, doeth euen as muche good as bookes neuer looked vpon. But nowe seing you haue taught me to shote fayre, I praye you tel me somwhat, how I should shoote nere leste that prouerbe myght be sayd iustlye of me sometyme. He shootes lyke a gentle man fayre & far of. TOX. He that can shoote fayre, lacketh nothyng but shootyng streyght and kepyng of a length wherof commeth hyttynge of the marke, the ende both of shootyng and also of thys our communication. The handlyng of ye wether & the mark bicause they belog to shootyng streyghte, and kepynge of a lengthe, I wyll ioyne them togyther, shewinge what thinges belonge to kepynge of a lengthe, and what to shootynge streyght.

The greatest enemy of shootyng is the wynde and the wether, wherby true kepyng a lengthe is chefely wynde and hindered. If this thing were not, men by teaching wether. might be brought to wonderful neare shootynge. It is no maruayle if the litle poore shafte being sent alone, so high in to the ayer, into a great rage of wether, one wynde tossinge it that waye, an other thys waye, it is no maruayle I saye, thoughe it leese the lengthe, and misse that place, where the shooter had thought to have founde it. Greter matters than shotynge are vnder the rule and wyll of the wether, as saylynge on the sea. And lykewise as in sayling, the chefe poynt of a good master, is to knowe the tokens of chaunge of wether, the course of the wyndes, that therby he maye the better come to the Hauen: euen so the best propertie of a good shooter, is to knowe the nature of the wyndes, with hym and

agaynste hym, that thereby he maye the nerer shote at hys marke. Wyse maysters whan they canne not winne the beste hauen, they are gladde of the nexte: Good shooters also, yt can not whan they would hit the marke, wil labour to come as nigh as they can. All thinges in this worlde be vnperfite and vnconstant, therfore let euery man acknowlege hys owne weakenesse, in all matters great and smal, weyghtye and merye, and glorifie him, in whome only perfyte perfitnesse is. But nowe, sir, he that wyll at all aduentures vse the seas knowinge no more what is to be done in a tempest than in a caulme, shall soone becumme a marchaunt of Eele skinnes: so that shoter whiche putteth no difference, but shooteth in all lyke, in rough wether and fayre, shall alwayes put his wynninges in his eyes.

Lytle botes and thinne boordes, can not endure the rage of a tempest. Weake bowes, & lyght shaftes can not stande in a rough wynde. And lykewyse as a blynde man which shoulde go to a place where he had neuer ben afore, that hath but one strayghte waye to it, and of eyther syde hooles and pyttes to faule into, nowe falleth in to this hole and than into that hole, and neuer cometh to his iourney ende, but wandereth alwaies here and there, farther and farther of: So that archer which ignorauntly shoteth considering neyther fayer nor foule, standynge nor nockynge, fether nor head, drawynge nor lowsyng, nor yet any compace, shall alwayes shote shorte and gone, wyde and farre of, and neuer cumme nere, excepte perchaunce he stumble sumtyme on the marke. For ignoraunce is nothynge elles but mere blyndenesse.

A mayster of a shippe first learneth to knowe the cummyng of a tempest, the nature of it, and howe to behaue hym selfe in it, eyther with chaungynge his course, or poullynge downe his hye toppes and brode sayles, beyng glad to eschue as muche of the wether as he can: Euen so a good archer wyl fyrste wyth diligent vse and markynge the wether, learne to knowe the nature of the wynde, and with wysedome, wyll measure in hys mynde, howe muche it wyll alter his shoote, eyther in lengthe kepynge, or els in streyght shotynge, and so with chaunging his standynge, or takynge an other shafte, the whiche he knoweth perfytlye to be fitter for his pourpose, eyther bycause it is lower fethered, or els bycause it is of a better

wyng, wyll so handle wt discretion hys shoote, that he shall seeme rather to haue the wether vnder hys rule, by good hede gyuynge, than the wether to rule hys shafte by any sodayne chaungyng.

Therefore in shootynge there is as muche difference betwixt an archer that is a good wether man, and an other that knoweth and marketh nothynge, as is betwixte a blynde man, and he

that can se.

Thus, as concernynge the wether, a perfyte archer muste firste learne to knowe the sure flyghte of his shaftes, that he may be boulde alwayes, to trust them, than muste he learne by daylye experience all maner of kyndes of wether, the tokens of it, whan it wyl cumme, the nature of it whan it is cume, the diuersitie and alteryng of it, whan it chaungeth, the decrease & diminishing of it, wha it ceaseth. Thirdly these thinges knowen, and euery shoote diligentlye marked, than must a man copare alwayes, the wether and his footyng togyther, and with discretion measure them so, that what so euer the roughe wether shall take awaye from hys shoote the same shal juste footynge restore agayne to hys shoote.

Thys thynge well knowen, and discretelye handeled in shootynge, bryngeth more profite and commendation and prayse

to an Archer, than any other thynge besydes.

He that woulde knowe perfectly the winde and wether, muste put differences betwixte tymes. For diversitie of tyme causeth diuersitie of wether, as in the whole yeare, Sprynge tyme, Somer, Faule of the leafe, and Winter: Lykewyse in one day Mornynge, Noonetyme, Afternoone, and Euentyde, bothe alter the wether, and chaunge a manes bowe with the strength of man also. And to knowe that this is so, is ynough for a shoter & artillerie, and not to serche the cause, why it shoulde be so: whiche belongeth to a learned man and Philosophie.

In consydering the tyme of the yeare, a wyse Archer wyll folowe a good Shipman. In Winter & rough wether, smal bootes and lytle pinkes forsake the seas: And at one tyme of the yeare, no Gallies come abrode; So lykewyse weake Archers, vsyng small and holowe shaftes, with bowes of litle pith, muste

be content to gyue place for a tyme.

And this I do not saye, eyther to discomende or discourage any weake shooter: For lykewyse, as there is no shippe better than Gallies be, in a softe and a caulme sea, so no man shooteth cumlier or nerer hys marke, than some weake archers doo, in a fayre and cleare daye.

Thus euery archer must knowe, not onelye what bowe and shafte is fittest for him to shoote withall, but also what tyme & season is best for hym to shote in. And surely, in al other matters to, amonge al degrees of men, there is no man which doth any thing eyther more discretely for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his advauntage, than he which wyll knowe perfitly for what matter and for what tyme he is moost apte and fit. Yf men woulde go aboute matters whych they should do and be fit for, & not suche thynges whyche wylfullye they desyre & yet be vnfit for, verely greater matters in the comon welthe than shootyng shoulde be in better case than they be. This ignorauncie in men whyche know not for what tyme, and to what thynge they be fit, causeth some wyshe to be riche, for whome it were better a greate deale to be poore: other to be medlynge in euery mans matter, for whome it were more honestie to be quiete and styll. Some to desire to be in the Courte, whiche be borne and be fitter rather for the carte. Somme to be may sters and rule other, whiche neuer yet began to rule them selfe: some alwayes to iangle and taulke, whych rather shoulde heare and kepe silece. Some to teache, which rather should learne. Some to be prestes, whiche were fytter to be clerkes. And thys peruerse judgement of ye worlde, when men mesure them selfe a misse, bringeth muche mysorder and greate vnsemelynesse to the hole body of the common wealth, as yf a manne should were his hoose vpon his head, or a woman go wyth a sworde and a buckeler euery man would take it as a greate vncumlynesse although it be but a tryfle in respecte of the other.

Thys peruerse iudgement of men hindreth no thynge so much as learnynge, bycause commonlye those whych be vnfittest for learnyng, be cheyfly set to learnynge.

As yf a man nowe a dayes haue two sonnes, the one impotent, weke, sickly, lispynge, stuttynge, and stamerynge, or hauynge any misshape in hys bodye: what doth the father of suche one commonlye saye? This boye is fit for nothynge els, but to set to lernyng and make a prest of, as who would say, ye outcastes of the worlde, hauyng neyther countenauce tounge

nor wit (for of a peruerse bodye cumeth commonly a peruerse mynde) be good ynough to make those men of, whiche shall be appoynted to preache Goddes holye woorde, and minister hys blessed sacramentes, besydes other moost weyghtye matters in the common welthe put ofte tymes, and worthelye to learned mennes discretion and charge: whan rather suche an offyce so hygh in dignitie, so godlye in administration, shulde be committed to no man, whiche shulde not have a countenaunce full of cumlynesse to allure good menne, a bodye ful of manlye authoritie to feare ill men, a witte apte for al learnynge with tongue and voyce, able to perswade all men. And although fewe suche men as these can be founde in a common wealthe, yet surely a godly disposed man, will bothe in his mynde thyncke fit, and with al his studie labour to get such men as I speke of, or rather better, if better can be gotten for suche an hie administration, whiche is most properlye appoynted to goddes owne matters and businesses.

This peruerse iugement of fathers as concernynge the fitnesse and vnfitnesse of theyr chyldren causeth the comon wealthe haue many vnfit ministers: And seyng that ministers be, as a man woulde say, instrumentes wherwt the comon wealthe doeth worke all her matters wtall, I maruayle howe it chauceth yt a pore shomaker hath so much wit, yt he will prepare no instrument for his science neither knyfe nor aule, nor nothing els whiche is not very fitte for him: the comon wealthe can be content to take at a fonde fathers hande, the rifraffe of the worlde, to make those instrumentes of, wherwtal she shoulde worke ye hiest matters under heauen. And surely an aule of lead is not so vnprofitable in a shomakers shop, as an vnfit minister, made of grosse metal, is vnsemely in ye como welth. Fathers in olde time among ye noble Persians might not do wt theyr childre as they thought good, but as the iudgement of the comon wealth al wayes thought best. fault of fathers bringeth many a blot wt it, to the great deformitie of the common wealthe: & here surely I can prayse gentlewomen which have alwayes at hande they glasses, to se if any thinge be amisse, & so will amende it, yet the comon wealth having ye glasse of knowlege in euery mans hand, doth se such vncumlines in it: & yet winketh at it. This faulte & many suche lyke, myght be sone wyped awaye, yf fathers woulde bestow their children on yt thing alwayes, whervnto nature hath ordeined them moste apte & fit. For if youth be grafted streyght, & not awrye, the hole comon welth wil florish therafter. Whan this is done, than muste euery man beginne to be more ready to amende hym selfe, than to checke an other, measuryng their matters with that wise prouerbe of Apollo, Knowe thy selfe: that is to saye, learne to knowe what

thou arte able, fitte, and apte vnto, and folowe that.

This thinge shulde be bothe cumlie to the common wealthe, and moost profitable for euery one, as doth appere very well in all wise mennes deades, & specially to turne to our communication agayne in shootynge, where wise archers haue alwayes theyr instrumentes fit for theyr strength, & wayte euermore suche tyme and wether, as is most agreable to their gere. Therfore if the wether be to sore, and vnfit for your shootynge, leaue of for that daye, and wayte a better season. For he is a foole yt wyl not go, whome necessitie driueth. PHI. This comunication of yours pleased me so well Toxophile, that surelye I was not hastie to calle you, to descrybe forthe the wether but with all my harte woulde have suffered you yet to haue stande longer in this matter. For these thinges touched of you by chaunse, and by the waye, be farre aboue the matter it selfe, by whose occasion ye other were broughte in. TOX. Weyghtye matters they be in dede, and fit bothe in an other place to be spoken: & of an other man than I am, to be handled. And bycause meane men must meddle wyth meane matters, I wyl go forwarde in descrybyng the wether, as concernynge shooting: and as I toulde you before, In the hole yere, Spring tyme, Somer, Fal of the leafe, and Winter: and in one day, Morning, Noone tyme, After noone, and Euentyde, altereth the course of the wether, the pith of the bowe, the strength of the man. And in euery one of these times the wether altereth, as sumtyme wyndie, sumtyme caulme, sumtyme cloudie, sumtyme clere, sumtyme hote, sumtyme coulde, the wynde sumtyme moistye and thicke, sumtyme drye and smothe. A litle winde in a moystie day, stoppeth a shafte more than a good whiskynge wynde in a clere daye. Yea, and I have sene whan there hath bene no winde at all, the ayer so mistie and thicke, that both the markes haue ben wonderfull great. And ones, whan the Plage was in Cambrige, the downe

winde twelue score marke for the space of .iii. weekes, was .xiii. score, and an halfe, and into the wynde, beynge not very great, a great deale aboue .xiiii. score.

The winde is sumtyme playne vp and downe, whiche is commonly moste certayne, and requireth least knowlege, wherin a meane shoter with meane geare, if he can shoote home, maye make best shifte. A syde wynde tryeth an archer and good gere verye muche. Sumtyme it bloweth a lofte, sumtyme hard by the grounde: Sumtyme it bloweth by blastes, & sumtyme it continueth al in one: Sumtyme ful side wynde, sumtyme quarter with hym and more, and lykewyse agaynst hym, as a man with castynge vp lyght grasse, or els if he take good hede, shall sensibly learne by experience. To se the wynde, with a man his eyes, it is vnpossible, the nature of it is so fyne, and subtile, yet this experience of the wynde had I ones my selfe, and that was in the great snowe that fell .iiii. yeares agoo: I rode in the hye waye betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale, and Borowe bridge, the waye beyng sumwhat trodden afore, by waye fayrynge men. The feeldes on bothe sides were playne and laye almost yearde depe with snowe, the nyght afore had ben a litle froste, so yt the snowe was hard and crusted aboue. That morning the sun shone bright and clere, the winde was whistelinge a lofte, and sharpe according to the tyme of the yeare. The snowe in the hye waye laye lowse and troden wyth horse feete: so as the wynde blewe, it toke the lowse snow with it, and made it so slide vpon the snowe in the felde whyche was harde and crusted by reason of the frost ouer nyght, that therby I myght se verye wel, the hole nature of the wynde as it blewe yt daye. And I had a great delyte & pleasure to marke it, whyche maketh me now far better to remember it. Sometyme the wynd would be not past ii. yeardes brode, and so it would carie the snowe as far as I could se. An other tyme the snow woulde blowe ouer halfe the felde at ones. Sometyme the snowe woulde tomble softly, by and by it would flye wonderfull fast. And thys I perceyued also that ye wind goeth by streames & not hole togither. For I should se one streame with in a Score on me, that the space of .ii. score no snow would stirre, but after so muche quatitie of grounde, an other streame of snow at the same very tyme should be carried lykewyse, but not equally. For the one

would stande styll when the other flew a pace, and so contynewe somtyme swiftlyer sometime slowlyer, sometime broder, sometime narrower, as far as I coulde se. Nor it flewe not streight, but sometyme it crooked thys waye sometyme that waye, and somtyme it ran round aboute in a compase. And somtyme the snowe wold be lyft clene from the ground vp in to the ayre, and by & by it would be al clapt to the grounde as though there had bene no winde at all, streightway it woulde rise and flye

agayne.

And that whych was the moost meruayle of al, at one tyme .ii. driftes of snowe flewe, the one out of the West into ye East, the other out of the North in to ye East: And I saw .ii. windes by reaso of ye snow the one crosse ouer the other, as it had bene two hye wayes. And agayne I shoulde here the wynd blow in the ayre, when nothing was stirred at the groud. And when all was still where I rode, not verye far fro me the snow should be lifted wonderfully. This experience made me more meruaile at ye nature of the wynde, than it made me conning in ye knowlege of ye wynd: but yet therby I learned perfitly that it is no meruayle at al thoughe men in a wynde lease theyr length in shooting, seying so many wayes the wynde is so variable in blowynge.

But seynge that a Mayster of a shyp, be he neuer so cunnynge, by the vncertayntye of the wynde, leeseth many tymes both lyfe and goodes, surelye it is no wonder, though a ryght good Archer, by the self same wynde so variable in hys owne nature, so vnsensyble to oure nature, leese manye a shoote

and game.

The more vncertaine and disceyuable the wynd is, the more

hede must a wyse Archer gyue to know the gyles of it.

He yt doth mistrust is seldome begiled. For although therby he shall not attayne to that which is best, yet by these meanes he shall at leaste auoyde yt whyche is worst. Besyde al these kindes of windes you must take hede yf you se anye cloude apere and gather by lytle and litle agaynst you, or els yf a showre of raine be lyke to come vpon you: for than both the dryuing of the wether and the thyckynge of the ayre increaseth the marke, when after ye showre al thynges are contrary clere and caulme, & the marke for the most parte new to begyn agayne. You must take hede also yf euer you shote where one

of the markes or both stondes a lytle short of a hye wall, for there you may be easlye begyled. Yf you take grasse and caste it vp to se howe the wynde standes, manye tymes you shal suppose to shoote downe the wynde, when you shote cleane agaynste the wynde. And a good reasō why. For the wynd whych commeth in dede against you, redoundeth bake agayne at the wal, and whyrleth backe to the prycke and a lytle farther and than turneth agayne, euen as a vehement water doeth agaynste a rocke or an hye braye, whyche example of water as it is more sensible to a mās eyes, so it is neuer a whyt the trewer than this of the wynde. So that the grasse caste vp shall flee that waye whyche in dede is the longer marke and disceyue quycklye a shooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I ones my selfe at Norwytch in the chapel felde wythin the waulles. And thys waye I vsed in

shootynge at those markes.

When I was in the myd way betwixt the markes whyche was an open place, there I toke a fether or a lytle lyght grasse and so as well as I coulde, learned how the wynd stoode, that done I wente to the prycke as faste as I coulde, and according as I had foude ye wynde when I was in the mid waye, so I was fayne than to be content to make the best of my shoote that I coulde. Euen suche an other experiece had I in a maner at Yorke, at the prickes, lying betwixte the castell and Ouse syde. And although you smile Philologe, to heare me tell myne owne fondenes: yet seing you wil nedes haue me teach you somwhat in shotyng, I must nedes somtyme tel you of myne owne experience, & the better I may do so, bycause Hippocrates in teachynge physike, vseth verye muche the same Hippo. De Take heede also when you shoote nere waye.

the sea cost, although you be .ii. or .iii. miles from the sea, for there diligent markinge shall espie in the moste clere daye wonderfull chaunginge. The same is to be cosidered lykewyse by a riuer side speciallie if it ebbe & flowe, where he yt taketh diligent hede of ye tide & wether, shal lightly take away al yt he shooteth for. And thus of ye nature of windes & wether according to my marking you haue hearde Philologe: & hereafter you shal marke farre mo your selfe, if you take hede. And the wether thus marked as I tolde you afore, you muste take hede, of youre stading, yt therby you may win as much

as you shal loose by the wether. PHI. I se well it is no maruell though a man misse many tymes in shootyng, seing ye wether is so vnconstant in blowing, but yet there is one thing whiche many archers vse, yt shall cause a man haue lesse nede to marke the wether, & that is Ame gyuing. TOX. Of gyuyng Ame, I can not tel wel, what I shuld say. For in a straunge place it taketh away al occasion of foule game, which is ye only prayse of it, yet by my judgemet, it hidreth ye knowlege of shotyng, & maketh men more negligente: ye which is a disprayse. Though Ame be giue, yet take hede, for at an other mās shote you can not wel take Ame, nor at your owne neither, bycause the wether wil alter, euen in a minute, & at the one marke & not at the other, & trouble your shafte in the ayer, when you shal perceyue no wynde at the ground, as I my selfe haue sene shaftes tumble a lofte, in a very fayer daye. There may be a fault also, in drawing or lowsynge, and many thynges mo, whiche all togyther, are required to kepe a just length. But to go forward the nexte poynte after the markyng of your wether, is the takyng of your standyng. And in a side winde you must stand sumwhat crosse in to the wynde, for so shall you shoote the surer. Whan you have taken good footing, than must you looke at your shafte, yt no earthe, nor weete be lefte vpon it, for so should it leese the lengthe. You must loke at the head also, lest it have had any strype, at the last shoote. A stripe vpon a stone, many tymes will bothe marre the head, croke the shafte, and hurte the fether, wherof the lest of them all, wyll cause a man lease his lengthe. For suche thinges which chaunce euery shoote, many archers vse to haue sume place made in theyr cote, fitte for a lytle fyle, a stone, a Hunfyshskin, and a cloth to dresse the shaft fit agayne at all nedes. Thys must a man looke to euer when he taketh vp his shaft. And the heade maye be made to smothe, which wil cause it flye to far: when youre shafte is fit, than must you take your bow euen in the middes or elles you shall both lease your lengthe, and put youre bowe in ieopardye of breakynge. Nockynge iuste is next, which is muche of the same nature. Than drawe equallye, lowse equallye, wyth houldynge your hande euer of one heighte to kepe trew compasse. To looke at your shafte hede at the lowse, is the greatest helpe to kepe a lengthe that can be, whych thyng yet hindreth excellent shotyng, bicause

a man can not shote streight perfitly eexcepte he looke at his marke: yf I should shoote at a line and not at the marke, I woulde alwayes loke at my shaft ende, but of thys thyng some what afterwarde. Nowe if you marke the wether diligentlye, kepe your standynge iustely, houlde and nocke trewlye, drawe and lowse equallye, and kepe youre compace certaynelye, you shall neuer misse of your lengthe. PHI. Then there is nothlyng behinde to make me hit ye marke but onely shooting streight. TOX. No trewlye. And fyrste I wyll tel you what shyftes Archers have founde to shoote streyght, that what is the best waye to shoote strength. As the wether belongeth specially to kepe a lengthe (yet a side winde belongeth also to shote streight) euen so the nature of the pricke is to shote streight. lengthe or shortnesse of the marke is alwayes under the rule of the wether, yet sumwhat there is in ye marke, worthye to be marked of an Archer. Yf the prickes stand of a streyght playne groud they be ye best to shote at. Yf ye marke stad on a hyl syde or ye groud be vnequal wt pittes & turninge wayes betwyxte the markes, a mans eye shall thynke that to be streight whyche is croked: The experience of this thing is sene in payntynge, the cause of it is knowen by learnynge.

And it is ynoughe for an archer to marke it and take hede of it. The cheife cause why men can not shoote streight, is bicause they loke at theyr shaft: and this fault commeth bycause a mā is not taught to shote when he is yong. Yf he learne to shoote by himselfe he is a frayde to pull the shafte throughe the bowe, and therfore looketh alwayes at hys shafte: yll vse con-

firmeth thys faulte as it doth many mo.

And men continewe the longer in thys faulte bycause it is so good to kepe a lengthe wyth al, and yet to shote streight, they haue inueted some waies, to espie a tree or a hill beyonde the marke, or elles to haue sume notable thing betwixt ye markes: & ones I sawe a good archer whiche did caste of his gere, & layd his quiuer wt it, euen in the midway betwixt ye prickes. Sume thought he dyd so, for sauegarde of his gere: I suppose he did it, to shoote streyght wall. Other men vse to espie sume marke almoost a bow wide of ye pricke, and than go about to kepe him selfe on yt hande that the prycke is on, which thing howe muche good it doth, a man wil not beleue, that doth not proue it. Other & those very good archers in drawyng,

loke at the marke vntill they come almost to ye head, than they looke at theyr shafte, but at ye very lowse, wt a seconde sight they fynde theyr marke agayne. This way & al other afore of me rehersed are but shiftes & not to be followed in shotyng streyght. For hauyng a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the only waye to shote streight, yea & I suppose so redye & easy a way yf it be learned in youth & confirmed wt vse, yt a man shall neuer misse therin. Men doubt yet I lokig at ye mark what way is best whether betwixt the bowe & the stringe, aboue or beneth hys hand, & many wayes moo: yet it maketh no great matter which way a man looke at his marke yf it be ioyned wt comly shotynge. The diuersite of mens standyng and drawing causeth diverse me loke at theyr marke diverse wayes: yet they al lede a mas hand to shoote streight yf nothyng els stoppe. So that cumlynesse is the only judge of best lokyng at the marke. Some men wonder why in casting a mans eye at ye marke, the hande should go streyght. Surely yf he consydered the nature of a mans eye, he wolde not wonder at it: For this I am certayne of, that no seruaunt to hys mayster, no chylde to hys father is so obedient, as euerye ioynte and pece of the body is to do what soeuer the eye biddes. The eye is the guide, the ruler & the succourer of al the other partes. The hade, the foote & other members dare do nothynge wout the eye, as doth appere on the night and darke corners. The eye is the very tonge wherw wyt & reaso doth speke to euery parte of the body, & the wyt doth not so sone signifye a thynge by the eye, as euery part is redye to folow, or rather preuent the byddyng of the eye. Thys is playne in many thinges, but most euident in fence and feyghtynge, as I haue heard men saye. There euery part standynge in feare to haue a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as yonge chyldre do to ye mother: the foote, the hand, & al wayteth vpo the eye. Yf the eve byd ye had either beare of, or smite, or the foote ether go forward, or backeward, it doth so: And that whyche is moost wonder of all the one man lookynge stedfastly at the other mans eye and not at his hand, wyl, eue as it were, rede in his eye where he purposeth to smyte nexte, for the eye is nothlyng els but a certayne wyndowe for wit to shote oute hir hede at.

Thys wonderfull worke of god in makynge all the members so obedient to the eye, is a pleasaunte thynge to remember and

loke vpon: therfore an Archer maye be sure in learnyng to looke at hys marke when he is yong, alwayes to shoote streyghte. The thynges that hynder a man whyche looketh at hys marke, to shote streyght, be these: A syde wynde, a bowe either to stronge, or els to weake, an ill arme, whan a fether runneth on the bowe to much, a byg brested shafte, for hym that shoteth vnder hande, bycause it wyll hobble: a little brested shafte for hym yt shoteth aboue ye hande, bicause it wyl starte: a payre of windynge prickes, and many other thinges mo, which you shal marke your selfe, & as ye knowe the, so learne to amend them. If a man woulde leave to looke at his shafte, and learne to loke at his marke, he maye vse this waye, whiche a good shooter tolde me ones that he did. Let him take his bowe on the nyght, and shoote at .ii. lightes, and there he shall be compelled to looke alwayes at his marke, & neuer at his shafte: This thing ones or twyse vsed wyl cause hym forsake lokynge at hys shafte. Yet let hym take hede of settynge his shaft in the bowe.

Thus Philologe to shoote streyght is the leaste maysterie of all, yf a manne order hym selfe thereafter, in hys youthe. And as for keypynge a lengthe, I am sure the rules whiche I gaue you, wil neuer disceyue you, so that there shal lacke nothynge, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or elles verye nere shotynge, excepte the faulte be onely in youre owne selfe, whiche maye come .ii. wayes, eyther in hauing a faynt harte or courage, or elles in sufferynge your selfe ouer muche to be led with affection: yf a mans mynde fayle hym, the bodye whiche is ruled by the mynde, can neuer doe his duetie, yf lacke of courage were not, men myght do mo mastries than they do, as doeth appere in leapynge and vaultinge.

All affections and specially anger, hurteth bothe mynde and bodye. The mynde is blynde therby: and yf the mynde be blynde, it can not rule the bodye aright. The body both blood and bone, as they say, is brought out of his ryght course by anger: Wherby a man lacketh his right strengthe, and therfore can not shoote wel. Yf these thynges be auoyded (wherof I wyll speake no more, both bycause they belong not properly to shoting, & also you can teache me better, in them, than I you) & al the preceptes which I haue gyuen you, diligently marked, no doubt ye shal shoote as well as euer man dyd yet, by the

grace of God. Thys communication handled of me Philologe, as I knowe wel not perfytly, yet as I suppose truelye you must take in good worthe, wherin if diuers thinges do not all togyther please you, thanke youre selfe, whiche woulde haue me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thynge in hande whyche I was not able for to perfourme, than by any honeste shamefastnes withsay your request & minde, which I knowe well I haue not satisfied. But yet I wyl thinke this labour of mine the better bestowed, if to morow or some other daye when you haue leysour, you wyl spende as much tyme with me here in this same place, in entreatinge the question De origine anime, and the ioynyng of it with the bodye, that I maye knowe howe far Plato, Aristotle, & the Stoiicians haue waded in it.

PHI. How you have handeled this matter Toxoph. I may not well tel you my selfe nowe, but for your gentlenesse and good wyll towarde learnyng & shotyng, I wyll be content to shewe you any pleasure whensoeuer you wyll: and nowe the sunne is doune therfore if it plese you, we wil go home and drynke in my chambre, and there I wyll tell you playnelye what I thinke of this comunication and also, what daye we will appoynt at your request for the other matter, to mete here agayne.

Deo gratias.

LONDINI.

In ædibus Edouardi VV hytchurch.

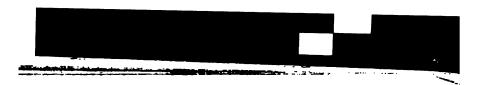
Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

№ A REPORT

and Discourse written by
Roger Ascham, of the affaires
and state of Germany and the
Emperour Charles his court,
duryng certaine yeares
while the sayd Roger
was there.

AT LONDON.

- ¶ Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.
- ¶ Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, per Decennium.



John Astely to R. Ascham.

I Now finde true by experience, which I have oft heard of others, & sometymes read my selfe: that me make no such accompt of commodities when they have the, as when they want the. I meane this by our frendly fellowshyp together at Cheston Chelsey, and here at Hatfield her graces house: our pleasant studies in readyng together Aristotles Rethorike, Cicero, and Livie: our free talke mingled alwayes with honest mirth: our trimme coferences of that present world: and to true

iudgementes of the troublesome tyme that followed.

These commodities I now remeber with some grief, which we then vsed with much pleasure, besides many other fruites of frendshyp that favthfull good will could affourd. And these

frendshyp that faythfull good will could affourd. And these thinckynges cause me oft to wish, either you to be here with vs, or me to be there with you: but what wishyng is nothyng els but a vayne waylyng for that which will wanteth, I wil cease from wishyng, and seeke the true remedy for this sore. And that is whilest we mete agayne in deede, in the meanewhile to ease our desires with oft writyng the one to the other: I would in deede I had bene partaker in your company, of that your pleasaunt absence out of your countrey: And because I was not, I pray you let me be partaker by your letters of some fruite of that your iourney.

We heare of great sturres in those parties: and how the Emperour a Prince of great wisedome and great power hath bene driuen to extreme shiftes, and that by the pollicie of mean men who were thought to be hys frendes, and not by the puisantnes of others who were knowne to be his open enemyes. I

124

know your wont in markyng diligently and notyng truely all such great affaires: And you know lykewise how desirous I am alwayes to read any thing that you write. Write therfore I pray you, that we your frendes beyng at home may enioye by your letters a pleasant memory of you in this tyme whilest you be absent abroad. Farewell in Christ from Hatfield. xix. Octobris. 1552.

R. Ascham, to Iohn Asteley.

Salutem Plurimam in Christo Iesu. That part of your letters from Hatfield, decimo nono Octob. renewing a most pleasaunt memory of our fredly fellowship together, & full of your wonted good will towardes me: I aunswered immediatly from Spires by Fraunces the post: whiche letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might have heard tell of it in M. Secretary Cicels chamber in the Court.

As concernyng the other part of your letter, for your wish, to haue bene with me, in this mine absence from my countrey: and for your request, to be made partaker by my letters of the sturre of these times here in Germany. Surely I would you had your wish: for then should not I now nede to bungle vp yours so great a request, when presently you should haue sene with much pleasure, which now peradueture you shall read with some doubt, lesse thynges may encrease by writyng which were so great in doyng, as I am more afrayd to leaue behind me much of the matter, then to gather vp more then

hath sprong of the trouth.

Your request conteineth few wordes but coprehendeth both great and diuers matters. As first the causes of the open inuasion by the Turke: of the secret working for such soddeyne brechesse in Italy, and Germany: of the fine fetches in the French practises: of the double dealyng of Rome with all partes: the more particularly why Duke Octauio, the Prince of Salerne, Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice brake so out with the Emperour, which were all so fast knit vnto hym as the bondes of affinitie, loyaltie, bloud, and benefites could assure him of them: Octavio being his sonne in law, the Prince one of hys priuy chamber, Marches Albert hys kynsman, and Duke Maurice so inhaunsed with honor and enriched with benefites by hym, as the Duke could not have wished greater in hope, then the Emperour performed in deede. Here is stuffe plenty to furnish well vp a trimme history if a workeman had it in handlyng. When you and I read Liuie together if you do remember, after some reasoning we cocluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand that would well and aduisedly write an history: First, point was, to write nothing false: next, to be bold to say any truth, wherby is auoyded two great faultes, flattery and hatred: For which two pointes Cæsar is read to his great prayse, C. Cæsar. and *louius* the *Italian* to hys just reproch. Then P. Iouius. to marke diligently the causes, cousels, actes, and issues in all great attemptes: And in causes, what is just or vniust: in cousels, what is purposed wisely or rashly: in actes, what is done couragiously or fayntly: And of euery issue, to note some generall lesson of wisedome & warines, for lyke matters in time to come: wherin Polibius in Polibius. Greeke and Phillip Comines in French have done Phi. Comines. the duties of wyse and worthy writers. Diligence also must be vsed in kepyng truly the order of tyme: and describyng lyuely, both the site of places and nature of persons not onely for the outward shape of the body: but also for the inward disposition of the mynde as Thuci-Thucididides doth in many places very trimly, and Homer des. Homer. euery where and that alwayes most excellently, which observation is chiefly to be marked in hym. And our Chaucer doth the same, very praise worthely: Chaucer. marke hym well and conferre hym with any other that writeth of our tyme in their proudest toung who-The stile must be alwayes playne and open: yet sometime higher and lower as matters do ryse and fall: for if proper and naturall wordes, in well inyned sentences do lyuely expresse the matter, be it troublesome, quyet, angry or pleasant, A man shal thincke not to be readyng but present in doyng of the same. And herein Liuie of all other in Titus Liany toung, by myne opinio carieth away the uius. prayse. Syr Thomas More in that pamphlet of Richard the thyrd,

doth in most part I beleue of all these pointes so content all men, as if the rest of our story of England were so done, we might well compare with Fraunce, Italy, or Germany in that behalfe. But see how the pleasant remembraunce of our old talke together hath caried me farther then I thought to go. And as for your request to know

the cause and maner of these late sturres here ye shall not looke for such precise order now in writyng, as we talked on then. No it is not all one thing to know perfectly by reading and to performe perfectly in doyng I am not so vnaduised to take so much vpo me, nor you so vnfrendly to looke for so much from me. But that you may know that I have not bene altogether idle in this my absence, and that I will not come home as one that can say nothing of that he hath sene and heard abroad: I will homely and rudely (yet not altogether disorderly) part prinately vnto you such notes of affaires as I prinately marked for my selfe: which I either felt and saw, or learned in such place and of such persos as had willes to seeke for, and wayes to come by, and wittes to way the greatest matters that were to be marked in all these affaires. For no wieke almost hath past in the which there hath not commonly come to my hand for the most part of the notable thynges that have bene attempted in Turky, Hungary, Italy, Fraunce, and Germany. In declarying to you these thyings I will observe onely the first two pointes of our wont communication: that is to my writing I will set forward nothyng that is false, nor yet keepe backe any thyng that is true. For I playing no part of no one side, but sittyng downe as indifferent looker on, neither Imperiall nor Frech, but flat English do purpose with troth to report the And seyng I shall lyue vnder such a Prince, as kyng Edward is, and in such a countrey as Englad is (I thanke God) I shall have neither neede to flatter the one side for profite, nor cause to feare the other side for displeasure. Therefore let my purpose of reportyng the troth as much content you, as the meane handlyng of the matter may mislike you. Yet speakyng thus much of trouth, I meane not such a hid trouth as was onely in the brest of Monsieur d'Arras on the Emperours side, or in Baron Hadeck on Duke Maurice side, with whom and with on other of his counsell he onely conferred all his purposes three yeares before he brake out with ye Emperour: but I meane such a troth as by conference and common cosent amongest all the Ambassadors and Agentes in this Court and other witty & indifferent heades beside was generally conferred and agreed vpo. What better comoditie to know the trouth any writer in Greeke Latine or other toung hath had, I can not perceiue, except onely Xenophon, Cæsar, and Phillip Comines: which two first worthy writers wrote their owne actes so wisely, and so without all suspicion of parcialitie, as no mā hetherto by mine opinion hath borne him selfe so vprightly in writing the histories of others: The thyrd hauyng in a maner ye like oportunitie hath not deserued lyke commendations, at least as I suppose. Englad hath matter & Englad hath me furnished with all abilitie to write: who if they would might bryng both lyke prayse vnto them selues, & like profite to others, as these two noble me haue done. They lay for their excuse the lacke of leysure which is true in deede: But if we cosider the great affaires of Casar we may judge hee was worthy to winne all praise that was so willing & wittie to winne such time when his head & his handes night and day were euer most full, would to God that these our me as they are ready to prayse hym were euen as willyng to follow hym, and so to wynne like prayse them selues.

And to keepe you no longer with my private talke from the matter it selfe, I will begyn at the spryng of the matter from whence all these mischiefes dyd flow, the which now hath so ouerflowed the most part of Christendome, as God onely from heauen must make an end of this miserable tragedie, wherein these two great Princes take such pleasure still to play. In Religion & libertie were sayd to be of many men The cause of the very causes of all these sturres: yet in myne yo sturres in Ítaly & opinion & as the matter it selfe shall well proue Germany. it, vnkyndnes was the very sede, whereof all these troubles dyd grow. A Knight of England of worthy memorie for wit learning and experience old Syr Thomas Unkyndnes. Wiat wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongest men and least punished is vnkyndnes: the greatest mischief truly & least punished also by any ordinary law & sentence, yet as I haue sene here by experience, vnkyndnes hath so wrought with men, as the meane were not affrayd to attempt their reuege, nor the Emperour able to withstand their displease. Yea vnkyndnes was onely the hoke, which Henry the French kyng hath vsed these late yeares to plucke from the Emperour and draw to hym selfe, so many Princes and great comodities as he hath: with this hoke bayted with money the bayte of all mischief, the French kyng hath not ceased to angle at as many harts in Italy and Germany as he knew any matter of vnkyndnes to bee ministred vnto, by the Emperour. There be few Princes in all the Empire but if I had leysure, I could particularly proue, and when I come home in our private talke I wil fully declare that some good big matter of vnkindnes hath bene offred vnto them by the Emperour. Yea Ferdinando his brother, Maximilian his nephew and sonne in law, the Dukes of Bauarie and Cleues which have maried his nieces haue bene shrewdly touched therwith. ye Papisticall Byshops as Mentz, Pamburge, Herbipolis, Saltzburge, and diuers others have felt their part herein. Few Princes or states, Protestantes or Papistes, but haue bene troubled therwith. But euen as a quaterne in the begynnyng is a wanderyng disease in the body vnknowne what it wil turne vnto, and yet at last it draweth to certaine dayes & houres: euen so these grieues in the whole body of the Empire dyd first worke secretly and not appeare openly, vntill this melancholy vnkyndnes did so swell in mens stomaches that at length in Insburgh it brast out into a shrewd sicknes, whereof the first fit was felt to be so daugerous, that if the Emperour and we had not more spedely chaunged the ayre, I am affrayed and sure I am we were wel affrayd then, the sickenes would have proved also to vs that were present with hym very contagious. this grief growyng this to certaine fittes, and I my selfe beyng not greatly greued at ye hart with it but had leysure enough with small ieoperdy (I thanke God) to looke quietly vpon them that were sicke, because I would not be idle amongst them I began dayly to note the workyng of this sickenes, and namely from the xix. of May .1552. when we ranne from Insburgh till the first of next January whe the siege of Metz was abadoned. Neuertheles before I come to these ordinary dayes I will shortly touch how the Emperour beyng in peace with all the world .1550. when we came to his Court, had soone after so many enemyes as hee knew not which way to turne hym.

¶ The Turke.

The date of peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turke had to expire an. 1551. The Emperour hearyng what preparation the Turke had made the yeare before for warre and specially by Sea, which must needes

Turke.

be agaynst Christendome, thought it better for him to ende the peace with some aduauntage, the that the Turke should begyn the warre with too much strength & therfore in sommer .1550. he sent Iohn de Vega Viceroy of Cicile & Andrea Dorea into Barbaria, who wan the strong towne of Affrica from Dragut Raies sometyme a Pirate and now the Turkes chief doer in all the affaires of Affrike and mare mediteraneo. This Court raised vp other rumors of this brech with the Turke how that this enterprice was made for Seripho sake a hethen kyng. But the Emperours frend in Barbaria to whom Dragat Rayes had done great wrong, yet men that knew the troth, and are wont also to say it, have told me that the towne of Affrica stode so fit to annoy Spayne for the Turke when he list, that the Emperour was compelled to seeke by all meanes to obtaine it, much fearyng, lest when he was absent in Germany, the Turke would be too nigh and to homely a gest with hym in Spayne whensoeuer the peace should be expired. The whole story of winnyng Affrica ye may read whe you list beyng wel written in Latin by a Spaniard that was present at it.

Affrica was earnestly required agayne by the Turke, and fayre promised agayne by the Emperour, but beyng in deede not deliuered, the Turke for a reuenge the next yeare, first assaulted Malta and after wan Tripoly from whence the Turke may easely and soddenly whensoeuer hee list set vpon Cicelie, Naples, or any cost of Italie or Spayne and most commodiously, what soeuer the Emperour doth hold in Barbary: so that the gayne of Affrica is thought nothyng comparable with the losse of Tripoly.

When Tripoly was besieged by the Turkes, Monsieur Daramont was sent Ambassadour to Constantinople from the French kyng: and arityng by the way at Malta, hee was desired by the great master of the order to go to Tripoly, and for the frendshyp that was betwene Fraunce and the Turke to treat for the Christians there. Daramont did so and had leaue of the Turkes generall to enter the towne and talke with the Captaine. And by this meanes they within yelded, on this condition to part safe with bag and baggage which was graunted by the generall. But assoone as the Turkes entred the towne they put old & yong, man, woman, and child to the sword sauing two

hundred of the strongest men to be their Galley slaues for euer. The generall beyng asked why he kept no promise made this aunswere: If the Emperour had kept faith with my master for Affrica I would not have broken with them of Tripoly, and therfore (sayth he) with Christen men which care for no trothe promises may justly be broken. This Turkish crueltie was reuenged this last yeare in Hungary, when lyke promise of lyfe was made, and yet all put to the sword the Christians biddyng the Turkes remember Tripoly. To such beastly crueltie the noble feates of armes be come vnto betwixt the Christen men and the Turkes. And one fact of either side is notable to bee knowen, yet horrible to be told and fouler to be followed: and it is pitie that mas nature is such, as will commonlie commend good thynges in readyng and yet will as commonly follow ill thynges in doyng.

The Bassa of Buda, tooke in a skirmish a gëtleman of the kyng of Romanes: for whose deliuery men for entreaty and money for hys raunsome were sent fact.

An horrible fact.

The Bassa appointed a day to geue to Buda. them aunswere, and at time and place assigned, called for them and sent for the gentleman likewise. And soddenly came out two hangmen bare armed with great butchers kniues in theyr handes bringing with them certaine bandogges musled kept hungry without meate of purpose: the Bassa bad them do their feate: who commyng to the gentleman stripped him naked, and bound him to a piller, after with their kniues they cut of his flesh by gobbets and flang it to the dogges. Thus ye poore gentlemä suffred grief great for ye payne, but greater for the spight: nor so tormeted in feelyng his fleshe mangled with kniues, as in seyng him selfe peece meale deuoured by dogges. And thus as long as hee felt any payne they cut him in collops, and after they let their dogges lose vpon him to eate vp the residue of him, that ye grief which was ended in him being dead might yet continue in his frendes lookyng on. They were bad depart and tell what they saw, who ye may be sure were in care enough to cary home with them such a cruell message.

Not long after this, three Turkes of good estimation and place, were taken by the Christen men: for whose raunsome great summes of gold were offred. Aunswere was made to the

ķ

messenger that all the gold in *Turky* should not saue the. And because ye *Turkes* will eate no swines flesh, you shall see if swine will eate any *Turkish* fleshe. And so likewise great bores were kept hungry, & in sight of the messenger the three *Turkes* were cut in collops and throwne amongest them.

For these foule deedes I am not so angry with the Turkes that began them as I am sory for the Christen men that follow them. I talked with a worthy gentleman this day both for his great experience and excellent learning Marc Anthonio d'Anula Ambassadour of Venice with the Emperour: who

The great Turke him selfe (Religion excepted) is a good and mercyfull, iust and liberall Prince, wise in makyng and true in performyng any couenant, and as sore a reuenger of troth not kept. He prayed God to

kepe him long aliue: for his eldest sonne Mustapha Mustapha the Turkes is cleane contrary, geue to all mischief cruell, eldest sonne false, gettyng he careth not how vniustly, and spendyng he careth not how vnthriftely what soeuer he may lay hand on, wilve in making for his purpose, & ready to breake for his profite all couenantes, he is wery of quietnes and peace, a seeker of strife and warre, a great mocker of meane men, a sore oppressor of poore men, openly contemnyng God, and a bent enemy agaynst Christes name and Christen men. But to go forward with my purpose. The Turke beyng onest disclosed an open enemy to the Emperour, many meane men begā to be the bolder to put out their heades to seeke some open remedy for theyr private injuries: Fraunce beyng at every

Brech of Italie.

Man selbow to harten and to helpe, whosoeuer had cause to be aggreued with the Emperour. And first Octauio Duke of Parma, much agreued as nature well required with his fathers death & besides that fearing the losse not onely of his state, but also of his lyfe, fell from the Emperour in the end of the yeare .1550.

Pietro Aloysio Farnesio sonne to Papa Paulo tercio Duke of Octauio. Placetia: father to this Duke Octauio Duke of Parma which maried the Emperors base daughter, and to Horatio Duke of Castro, who of late hath maried also the French kynges base daughter, and the two Cardinals Alexandro and Ramusio Farnesy, was slaine men say by the meanes of Ferranto Gonzaga gouernour of Millan by

whose death the state of *Placentia* belöging then to the house of *Fernesia* came into the Emperour handes. The whole processe of this mans death is at length set out in the stories of *Italie*: my purpose is onely to touch it, because hereby rose such a heate betwixt the whole famely of *Fernesia* and *Don Ferranto Gonzaga* as hath stirred vp such a smoke in *Italy* betwixt the Emperour and *Fraunce*, as is not like to be quenched but with many a poore mans bloud, as *Horace* noteth wittely out of *Homer*, saying:

What follies so euer great Princes make: The people therfore go to wrake.

Octauio beyng sorest greeued with his fathers death and beyng best able to reuenge it was so feared of Gonzaga that he thought hym selfe neuer assured for Petro Luis death as long as Octauio his sonne should lyue: for men neuer loue whe they have just cause to feare, but must nedes still mistrust without all hope of reconcilyng whom they have before hurt beyod all remedy of amendes. And yet I heard a gentlema of Millan say (who was sent hether to the Emperour by Gonzaga) that Octavio is such a Prince for good nature and gentle behaviour that he supposed there was not one in *Italy* but did loue hym except it were his maister Gonzaga. These two Princes beyng neighbours the one at Millan the other at Parma shewed smal frendshyp the one to the other. But Octavio was euermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by poysoning: for the which fact certain persons in Parma were taken and layd fast. Neuertheles Octauios nature is so farre from seekyng bloud and reuenge and so geuen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to geue away his state by treason, but also to take away his life by poysonyng, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and sentence of death pronounced openly agaynst them, yet he gaue them lyfe and libertie which would have taken both from hym.

And when Monsieur Thermes earnestly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Iustice, the good should neuer lyue in suretie and quietnes: his aunswere was that he so abhorred the sheddyng of bloud in others as he would neuer wash his handes in any: let his enemies do to him the worst

they could. Addyng, that he thought it his most honor to be vnlykest such for his gentlenes which were misliked of all me for their crueltie: wherby he hath wonne that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loued of all and onely hated of him who no man in *Italy* for his cruelty doth loue. And this talke is so true that it was told in an other language but in the selfe same termes at an honorable table here in *Bruxels* by a gentleman of *Millan* an agent in the Court, a doer for *Gonzaga*, who the same tyme was prisoner in *Parma*.

And although Octauio by good nature was harmeles in not seekyng reuenge, yet he was not careles by good reason in seekyng hys remedy but made oft & great coplaintes of his grieues to the Emperour, which were not so hotely made, but they were as coldly heard, that at legth Octauio findyng least comfort, where of right he looked for most ayde, & seyng that displeasures could not be ended in Gonzaga nor could not be amended by the Emperour: then he compelled agaynst his nature turned his hate due to Gonzaga to reuenge this vndeserued vnkyndnes in the Emperour, euen as Pausanias dyd with Phillip kyng of Macedonie, who conqueryng with pollicie and power all outward enemyes, was slayne when and where, he thought him selfe most sure of his dearest fred, for vnkindnes, because Phillip ought and would not reuege Pausanias on him that had done him a foule displeasure.

Octauio seyng what was done to his father euen when hys graundfather was Byshop of Rome, thought, that now as his house decayed, so his iopardy encreased. And therfore agaynst a desperate euill began to seeke for a desperate remedie, which was fet from Rome a shop alwayes open to any mischief as you shall perceive in these few leaves if you marke them well.

Octauio coplained to Iulio tercio of the wroges of Gonzaga & of the vnkindnes of the Emperour, desirying that by his wisedome and authoritie, he would now succor him or els not onely he should leese his life but also the Church of Rome should lose her right in Parma, as she had done before in Placentia. The Byshop gaue good eare to this talke, for he spied that hereby should be offred vnto him, a fit occasion to set the Emperour and Fraunce together by the eares. He thought the Emperour was to bigge in Italy hauyng on ye one side of

Rome Naples vnder his obedience, on the other side Siena, Florence and Genoa at his commaundement, besides Placentia, Millan, Monteferrato, and a great part of Piemount.

The Emperour beyng thus strong in *Italy*, the Byshop thought his own state to be his so log as it pleased the Emperour to let him haue it: & therfore if *Parma* were not left an entry for *Fraunce* to come into *Italy*, he might ouersoone be shut vp in present miserie when all outward ayde should be shut out from him.

The Popes counsel was that Octauio should put him selfe vnder the French kynges protection whom hee knew would most willingly receive him: Parma lying so fit for the French kyng, when soeuer he would set vpon the enterprice of Millan. This practise of the Pope Monsieur de Thermes the French kynges Ambassadours dyd vtter before the consistorie of Cardinals at Rome: proving that the Pope, not the kyng his master was the occasion of that warre.

When Octavio with the whole house of Farnesia became thus Frech, the Emperour more fearing the state of Millan then lamentyng the losse of Octavio persuaded on his side the Byshop of Rome to require Parma as the Churches right, & to punish Octauio as the Churches rebell, promising that he him selfe as an obedient sonne of the Church would stretch out his arme and open his purse in that recourry of the Churches right: neuertheles the Byshop must beare the name of the warre because hee might not breake peace with Fraunce. Thus Princes openly cotenacing quietnes & privily brewyng debate although they got others to broch it, yet God commoly suffreth the selues to drinke most of the misery thereof in the end. The Byshop seyng that he must either begyn the mischief or els it would not on so fast as he wished to haue it, set lustely vpon it: and first cited Octavio, after excommunicated him, and shortly after besieged Parma ayded both with me and money by the Emperour: which thyng the Breach w French kyng began to stomach, thinckyng that ye Fraunce. Emperour dyd offer him both wrong & dishonor

in not suffring him beyng a kyng to helpe a poore man that fled to his ayde. And thus these two Princes first helpyng others began by litle and litle to fall out them selues. And that the Pope dyd set these two Princes together, a Pasquill

made at Rome and sent to this Court doth well declare. And seyng that you so well vnderstand the Italian toung and that if it were turned into English it would leese the whole grace therof, I will recite it in the toung that it was made in.

Interlocutori Pasquillo et Romano.

Pasq. Hanno un bel gioco il Re, et l'Imperatore per terzo el Papa, e giocano à Primera.

Rom. che v'e d' invito? Pasq. Italia tutta intera. Rom. Chi vi l'ha messa? Pasq. il coglion del pastore.

Rom. Che tien in mano il Re? Pasq. Ponto magiore.

e'l Papa ha cinquant' vno, e se despera. Cæsar che Ponto s'a? Pasa. lui sta a Prin

Rom. Cæsar che Ponto s'a? Pasq. lui sta a Primera. Rom. che gli manca? Pasq. danari a far fauore.

> Il Papa dice, à vol, e vuol Partito: Cæsar Pensoso sta Sopra di questo, teme à Scoprir di [non] trouar moneta Il Re dice, no, no, Scoprite Presto, che io tengo Ponto, a guadagnar l' invito l' ho li danari, et Cæsar se gli aspeta.

¶ Tutti stanno a vedetta

Chi di lor due guadagni. Rom. il Papa? Pas. è fuora, vinca chi vuol, lui Perde, in sua mal' hora.

¶ L' Imperatore anchora

Teme, e tien stretto, e Scopre Pian le carte, e qu' la sorte gioca, più che l' Arte.

¶ Metta questi in disparte.

Stabilito è nel Ciel quello, che esser dé, ne gioua 'l nostro dir, questo Sarà questo è.

The French king in the sommer .1551. proclaimed warre against Charles kyng of Spayne, abusing that name for a sottlety to separate ye whole quarell from the Empire: when the Emperour would not be persuaded at Augusta that either the Turke would, or the French kyng durst make him open warre, or that any Prince in Italy or Germany could be entised to breake out with him.

Monsieur Mariliacke the French Ambassadour at Augusta euer bare the Emperour in hand that such rumors of war were raysed of displeasure & that his master intended nothyng so much as the continuance of amitie, yea this he durst do, when many in ye Emperours court knew that the war was already proclaimed in Fraunce.

The Emperour blinded with the ouer good opinion of his own wisedome, likyng onely what him selfe listed, and contemnyng easely all aduise of others (which selfe will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wittes) dyd not onely at this tyme suffer him selfe thus to be abused: but also afterward more craftely by the Pope for the continuaunce of warre at Parma, & more boldly by Duke Maurice for his repayre to Inspruke, and not the least of all, now lately at Metz by some of his owne counsellours for the recouery of that towne.

But Princes and great personages whiche will heare but what and whom they list, at the length fayle when they would not, and commonly blame whom they should not: But it is well done that as great men may by authoritie contemne the good aduise of others: so God doth prouide by right judgement that they have leave in the ende to beare both the losse and shame therof them selues.

Thus ye see how the Pope was both the brewer and brocher and also bringer of ill lucke to both these Princes, and as it came wel to passe dranke well of it him selfe both with expences of great treasures, and with the losse of many lyues and specially of two noble gentlemen, the Prince of Macedonia and Il Seign. Giouan Baptista di Monte his owne nephew: but the Popes care was neither of money nor men, so that he might set the two Princes surely together. And therfore was not onely content (as a man might say) to hasard Parma on the meyne chauce: but to make the two Princes better sporte & fresher game, set also eue then Mirandula on a bye chaunce that mischief enough might come together.

When the Princes were well in and the one so lusty with good lucke that hee had no lust to leaue, aud the other so chafed with leesyng, that still he would venture. Besides their playing in sporte for the Pope at Parma and Mirandula, they fell

Pope. Parma. Mirādula. to it a good them selues in *Piemoūt*, Loraigne, Flaunders and *Picardy*, the *French* kyng robbyng by Sea and spoyling by land, with calling in the *Turke*, and sturryng vp all Princes and states that had any occasion to beare any grudge to the Emperour. Of all their neighbours onely our noble kyng, and the wise senate of *Venize* would be lookers on.

And when the Pope saw they were so hote at it as he well knew as the one would not start in so great good lucke: so ye other could not leaue by so much shame of losse. And although it did him good to see them cope so lustely together: neuertheles he thought it scarce his surety that they should play so nere his elbow so earnestly, least if they fell to farre out and the one should winne to much of the other, then he peraduenture would compell at length the Pope him selfe which bega the play to kepe him sport afterward for that that he had in *Italy*. And therfore very craftely he gat them to play in an

other place, and tooke vp the game for Parma The Poand Mirandula taking truce with Fraunce for pes praccertaine yeares, and bad them make what sport they would farther of in Loraigne & Picardy. And that there should lacke neither iniurie nor spite in the Popes doynges, whe the Emperour saw that whether hee would or no, the Pope would needes fall in with Fraunce, then he desired the Pope that such bastilians and fortes of fence as were made about Mirandula when it was besieged might either be deliuered to hys mens handes or els defaced that the Frenchmen might not haue them, which request was very reasonable seyng the Emperour had bene at all the charge in making of them: But they were neither deliuered nor defaced, nor left indifferet, but so put into the French mens handes, that Mirandula now is made very strong to the French faction by Emperours money and the Popes falsehode.

This fact was very wrongfull of the Pope for the deede: but more spitefull for the tyme: for euen when Duke Maurice had wonne Augusta, euen then the Pope gaue vp the siege of Mirandula and fell in with Fraunce that care enough might come vppon the Emperour together both out of Germany, and out of Italy at once. And eue this day .25. June .1553. when I was writyng this place, commeth newes to Bruxells, that the Pope hath of new played with the Emperour more foule play

at Siena, then he dyd before at Mirandula: For whe the Emperour had bene at passing charges in kepyng a great host, for the recouery of Siena from December last vnto June: the Pope would needes become stickler in that matter betwene the Emperour, the French kyng and Siena promising such conditions to all, as neither of the Princes should lose honour and yet Siena should have had liberties. The Emperour good man yet agayne trustyng him who so spightfully had deceaued hym before dismissed hys hoste, which done Siena was left still in the French mes hades: who therby have such oportunitie to fortifie it, as ye Emperor is not like by force to recouer it. Piramus Secretary to ye Emperor told this tale to Syr Phillip Hobby & the Byshop of Westminster openly at ye table: which Piramus is a Papist for his life: & beyng asked how he could excuse the Popes vnkyndnes agaynst his master ye Emperour: Hee aunswered smilyng Iulius tercius is a knaue but ye Pope is an honest mā, which saying is como in this court. And although they wil vnderståd both ye spight of ye pope, & ye shame of their master, yet are they cotent stil to speake of ye pope though he neuertheles still do ill to ye Emperour.

And thus to returne to my purpose how the Pope set the two Princes together, & shift his owne necke a while out of the halter, leauyng most vnfrendly the Emperour when he was farthest behynd hand: and how Octauio for feare of Gonzaga, and vnkyndnes of the Emperour fell with all hys famely to be French, I have briefly passed over for the bast I have to come

to the matters of Germany.

¶ The Prince of Salerne.

The Emperour beyng thus set vpon by the Turke and Fraunce with open warre, and troubled by the house of Fernesia with so soddeyne breaches, and most of all encombred with the feare of the sturres in Germany which secretly were then in workyng: the Prince of Salerne also declared hym selfe an open enemy.

This Prince in this court is much beloued for his getlenes and openly praysed for his wisedome, & greatly lamented for his fortune, who before tyme hath done so good and faythfull seruice to the Emperour: that I have heard some in this Court say, which love the Emperour well and serve him in good place, that their master hath done the Prince so much wrong, as he could do no lesse then he dyd: who being so vniustly hadled by his enemies, the Viceroy of Naples, and so vnkyndly dealt with all by hys master ye Emperour, was driven by necessitie to seeke an vnlawfull shift.

The Viceroy Don Pietro de Toledo vncle to ye Duke of Alua, & father in law to ye duke of Florece vsed him selfe with much cruelty ouer ye people of Naples by exactions of money without measure, by Inquisition of mens doyngs without order, & not onely of mens doynges, but also of mes outward lookyngs, & inward thinkynges, vsing the least suspicion for a sufficiët witnes to spoyle & to kill who soeuer he lysted. Me that had sutes vnto him, had as leue bene away with the losse of their right, as haue come to his presence to abyde his lokes & taūts: And (as I heard a wise gētlemā of *Italy* say) he gaue audièce in such tyme & place, as he may easlyer in this Court speake with Monsieur d'Arras then he could in Naples with the Viceroyes Porter. And commoly he would not heare them whilest an hundred suters should come at once, and then the Porter let them in by one and by one euen as he fauoured not as the matter required, commanding them to be short or els they should come short in the next tyme. And so mens sutes were pulled fro comon law to private will, & were heard not in place open to Iustice but in private Parlors shit vp to all that came not in by fauour or money. And therfore iudgements were allotted not as law appointed, but as the Viceroy listed. This fault (Cicero sayth) vndyd Cæsar who drew the commo law into his own house, & so in hauing other mes goods lost all mes hartes and not long after his owne lyfe: for euen those that dyd helpe him plucke down Pompey, dyd after kill him for pulling downe the lawes: So we see that Princes not in gatheryng much money, nor in bearing ouer great swinge but in keping of frendes & good lawes lyue most merely & raigne most surely. But such as gape alwayes for other mens goods comoly neuer enioy ye fruite of their owne: for they neuer cease to win by wrog till at length they leese by right goodes lyfe & all. And therfore it is notable yt Dion. in Plate writeth to Dienisius ye tyraut, how Euripides in euery

tragedy bringeth for some great vice one or other great Prince to ruine & yet not one doth coplaine thus:

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of goodes.

But every one singeth this song:

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of frendes.

For a Prince that will take mes goods when he listeth without order shall want mens hartes whe he needeth wtout pitie: but in hauyng their hartes he shall neuer lacke their goodes, as the good kyng Cirus sayd to the rich kyng Cræsus. And to haue the peoples hartes the next way is to be gentle to euery one, just to all and liberall to many and especially to such as either by excellency of wit or good will in true seruice do well deserue it. Also to set his chiefest ioy not in priuate pleasure like Sardanapalus, but in commo wealth as we haue example of Titus Vespasianus: and to thinke his treasure greatest, not when his coffers be fullest as Crasus dyd, but when his subjectes be richest as Cyrus dyd & that through hys wisedome and care as all prayse worthy princes haue euer hetherto And what will the people reder agayn to such a Prince? A small subsidy, with a great grudge? no, but their whole hartes to loue him: their whole goodes to ayde hym: theyr handes ready to defende hym, and theyr lyues as ready to dye for hym when soeuer he shall haue neede. A Prince that thus doth lyue and thus is loued at home may be enuyed with much prayse, and hated with smal hurte of any power abroad. And therfore haue I heard wisemen discommend the

gouernement in Fraunce in makyng theyr people almost slaues, and from thence a comon saying of some in Syr John England, that would have the people neither witty Gates nor wealthy when wit is the meare gift of GOD:

So that to wish men lesse wit that have it, is to count God scarse wise that gave it. And wealth of the people as Scripture sayth: is the glory of a Prince, and surety of hys raigne. But suspition in all governing breedeth such sayinges, when wrong doth beare such swynge, as ill conscience doth alwayes wish that men should lacke either wit to perceaue or habilitie to amende what soever is done amisse. But God send such Achitophels better ende then their counsels doth deserve which



would seme wise by other mens folly, and would be rich by other mens pouertie.

To returne to the Viceroy of Naples the common opinion of those in this Court which have private cause to say wel on him do speake it boldly and openly, that he was such a one as never could content his covetousnes with money, nor never satisfie his crueltie with bloud: And so by this foule meane many gentleme in Naples have lost some theyr lives but moe theyr livinges, and almost all theyr libertie. And there be at this day as men say here that know it a good sort of thousandes Neapolitanes, named Foriensuti, who beyng spoyled at home by violence, robbe other abroad for neede, which comber so the passage betwixt Rome and Naples, as no man departeth commonly from Rome without company which commeth to Naples without robbyng.

The whole body of the kyngdome of Naples was so distempered inwardly with this misorder, with a litle outward occasion it would easely haue burst forth into a foule sore. A lesse matter then the rauishyng of Lucrece, A meaner ayde then the helpe of Brutus, was thought sufficient to have stirred vp this inward grudge to open reuenge. But see how God prouided for the Emperour and the quyet of that kingdome: For God in takyng away one Spanyard hath made Naples now more strong, then if the Emperour had set xx. thousand of the best in Spayne there: for euen this last Lent .1553. Don Pietro di Toledo dyed at Florence by whose goyng away mens hartes in Naples be so come agayne to the Emperour, as he shall now haue lesse neede either to care for the fyne fetches of Fraunce, or to feare the great power of the Turke. A gentleman of this Court a true seruaunt to the Emperour sayd merely in a company where I was, that his master the Emperour had won more in Naples by the death of the Viceroy, then he had lost in Lorraigne by the forgyng of Metz.

But to my purpose not many yeares agoe divers in Naples made their coplaint to the Prince of Salerne of their griefes, who was thought would be most willyng for his good nature, and best able for his authoritie to seeke some remedie for them by way of intercessio to the Emperour.

The Prince beyng here at Bruxels humbly besought hys Maiestie to pitie the miserie of hys poore subjectes: who by

the cotents

this sute gat of the Emperour for hys cliantes, wordes without hope: and of the Viceroy for him selfe hatred without ende. The Prince yet alwayes bare hym selfe so wisely, that he could not without some sturre be thrust downe openly: and ridyng on his journey he was once shot with a dagge secretly.

Thus he seyng no ende of displeasure in the Viceroy no hope of remedy in the Emperour, when he saw the Turke on the Sea, the French kyng in the field, Duke Maurice and the Marches vp, and a good part of Italy either risen, or ready to rise, thinkyng the tyme come of theyr most hope for helpe by the Princes, and of least feare of punishment by the Emperour, came forth to play his part also amongest the rest: who whe flying first to the French kyng and after by hys counsell as it is sayd to the Turke, is compelled to venture vppon many hard fortunes. And what succes he shall have either of helpe in Fraunce or comfort of the Turke, or mercy of the Emperour I can not yet write. But this last winter he hath lyen in the Ile of Cio, and now I heare say this sommer he is on the Sea with 63. Gallyes of the Turkes at his commaundement, what enterprice he will make, or what successe he shall have when we shall heare of the matter, I trust I shal either by some private letter from hence or by present talke at home fully satisfie you therin.

¶ Albert Marches of Bradenburge.

A Lbert Marches of Bradenburge in the begynnyng of his sturre .1552. wrote a booke and set it Print wherin he declared the causes of hys fallyng from the Emperour wittely alledgyng common misery as a libertes iust pretence of hys priuate enterprise makyng booke and

iust pretence of hys priuate enterprise makyng other mens hurtes, his remedy to heale his own sores and common wronges hys way to reuenge

private displeasures: shewyng liberty to be lost, and Religion to be defaced, in all Germany, lamentyng the long captivitie of the two great Princes: and all the dispossessyng of hys father in law Duke Otto Henrick: sore enveyng against the pride of the Spanyardes and the authoritie of straungers, which had now in their handes the seale of the Impiere, and in theyr swynge the doyng of all thynges, and at their inst com-

swynge the doyng of all thynges, and at their comcomaundement all such mens voyces as were to be called the Imperiall Dietes: copellyng the Germanes in their owne countrey to vse straunge toungs for their private sutes, wherin they could say nothyng at all, or nothyng to the purpose: vsing Gamera Imperialis at Spires for a common key to open all mens coffers when they listed and these were the chiefest points in Marches booke.

The Marches also sore enueyed agaynst Luice de Auila for The booke writyng, and agaynst the Emperour for suffring of Luice de such a booke as Luice de Auila wrote: wherein the honor of Germany and the Princes therof & by name Marches Albert, who was in ye first warres on the Emperours side, was so defamed to all the world: yea the Marches was so throughly chafed with this boke, yt when I was in the Emperours court he offred ye combat with Luice de Auila, which the Emperour for good wil and wise respectes would in no case admit.

Not onely the Marches but also the Princes at the Diet of Passan this last yeare made a common complaint of this booke. I knew also the good old Prince Fredericke Palsgraue of ye Rhene in September last when the Emperour lay at Landaw beside Spires, goyng with his great army to Metz, complayned to the Emperour hym selfe and to his counsell of a certaine spightfull place in that booke against him: The good prince told me this tale him selfe at hys house in Heldibirge whe I caried vnto him kyng Edwardes letters, the Lord Ambassadour him selfe beyng sicke at Spires.

And wise men say that the Duke of Bauiere, also is euill contented for that which is written in that booke The duke agaynst his father when he deserued of the of Bauiere vnkyndly Imperials, to haue bene rewarded rather with handled. prayse and thankes then with any vnkynde note of blame and dishonour: of whom the Emperour in his warres agaynst the Lansgraue and the Duke of Saxonie received such kindnes, as no Prince in Germany for all respectes in yt case was able to affourde hym: as first he had his whole countrey of Bauiere for a sure footyng place, to begyn the warre in: and had also both men and vittaile of hym what he would, and at legth should have had that countrey his onely refuge, if that in warre he had come to any vnderdele as he was like enough to haue done. But it was Gods secret will and pleasure to haue the matter then go as it did: And for that cause men say Duke Albert of Bauiere that now is that hath maryed the Emperours niece, was more straunge this last yeare to the Emperour, when he was driven to that extremitie to flye away on the night from Inspurge and was more familiar with duke Maurice, and more frendly to the Princes confederate then els peraduenture he would have done.

And here a writer may learne, of Princes affaires a good lesson to beware of parcialitie either in flattery, or spight: For although thereby a man may please his owne Prince presently yet he may perchaunce as much hurt hym in the end as Luis de Auila dyd hurt ye Emperour his master in writyng of this booke. In deede this booke was not ye chiefest cause of this sturre in Germany: but sure I am that many Princes in Germany were sore agreeued wt it, as the Emperour wated both theyr hartes & their handes whe he stode in most nede of frendes: Iust reprehension of all vices as folie, vniust dealyng, cowardice, and vicious liuyng, must be frely and franckly vsed, yet so with that moderate discression as no purposed malice or bet hatred, may seeme to be the breeder of any false reproch. Which humor of writyng followeth so full, in Paulus Iouius bookes, and that by that iudgement of his owne frendes, as I haue heard wise and well learned men say: that his whole study and purpose is spent on these pointes, to deface the Emperour, to flatter Fraunce, to spite England, to belye Germany, to prayse the Turke, to keepe up the Pope, to pull downe Christ and Christes Religion, as much as lyeth in him. But to my purpose agayne.

The matters before of me briefly rehearsed, were at large declared in Marches Albertes booke: yet that you may know what secret workyng went before this playne writyng and open doyng, and because the Marches part hath bene so notable in all this pastime, I will by more particular circumstaunces lead

you to this generall complaintes.

There be at this day fiue Marchesses of Bradenburge: Ioachimus Elector, Iohānes his brother who for Ciuile seruice is Imperiall with might and mayne, & yet in Religion a Christian Prince with hart toung & honesty of lyfe: Doctour Christopher Monte, both a learned and wise man, our kynges Maiestie seruaunt and his Agent in the affaires of Germany hath told me

divers tymes, that this Marches Iohn and the Duke of Swaburg, be two of the worthiest Princes in all the Empier either in considering wisely, or executing courageously any great affaire. The thyrd is Marches George who dwelleth in Franconia not farre from Noremberg. The fourth Marches Albert the elder the mighty Duke of Prusia hable for his power to cope with any Prince, and xv. yeares together he dyd stoutly withstand in continuall warre the strength of the kyng of Pole. He hath so fully banished Papistry and so surely established the doctrine of the Gospell in Prusia, as

strength of the kyng of Pole. He hath so fully banished Papistry and so surely established the doctrine of the Gospell in Prusia, as no where hetherto in Germany is more diligently done, he loueth learnyng and honoreth learned men, and therfore an. 1544. he founded a new Vniuersitie in Prusia called Mons Regius bryngyng thether with plentyfull thynges excellent learned men in all tounges and sciences. He is vncle to this notable Marches Albert, and lackyng children hath made him his heyre, and hath already inuestured hym in the Dukedome of Prusia.

The fift is Marches Albert of whom I purpose to write on: whose father was Cassimirus descended from the kynges of Pole, and for his noblenes agaynst the Turke called Achilles Germanicus: and therfore might very well engender such a hoate Pirrhus. Marches Albert in hys young yeares as I have heard wise men say, was rude in hys maners, nor did not shew any token of towardnes likely to attempt any such affaires as in deede he hath done. It might be either for the lacke of learnyng and good bringyng vp (a great and common fault in great Princes of Germany) or els for his bashfull nature in youth, which propertie Xenophon wittely fayned to be in Cyrus at like yeares judgyng bashfulnes in youth to be a great token of vertue in age.

Marches Albert is now at this day about xxxi. yeares old: of a good stature, neither very high, nor very low, thicke without grosenes: rather wel boned for strength, then ouerloded with flesh: his face fayre, bewtifull, brode, sterne, and manly: somewhat resemblyng my Lord Marches of Northt. when he was of the same yeares, his eyes great and rowlyng, makyng his countenance cherefull when he talketh: and yet whe he geueth eare to other he kepeth both a sadde looke without signe of suspicion, and also a well set eye without token of malice: And this behauiour I marked well in hym when I dyned in his

company at the siege of *Metz*, in the County *Iohn* of *Nassaus* tent, his voyce is great and his wordes not many, more ready to here other then to talke him selfe. And when he talketh he so frameth hys toung to agree with hart, as speakyng and meanyng seemeth to be alwayes at one in hym, and herein he may be well called the sonne of *Achilles* whom *Homer* wittely doth fayne to haue such a free open nature: whose saying in *Greeke* is excellent, but beyng turned in the wrong side into English, it shall lesse delight you yet thus much it signifieth:

Who either in earnest or in sport, doth frame hym selfe after such sort: This thyng to thincke and that to tell, my hart abhorreth as gate to hell.

Homer, meanyng hereby that a Prince of noble courage should haue his hart, his looke, hys toung, and his handes so alwayes agreeyng together in thinkyng, pretendyng, and speakyng, and doyng, as no one of these foure should at any tyme be at iarre with an other, which agreeyng together in their right tune, do make a pleasaunt melody in all mens eares both sweetest and loudest, called in English (honor) and most

fitly in Greeke Tιμη, the price and prayse of vertue. And though the Marches be free to say what he thinketh, yet he is both secret in purposyng & close in workyng what soeuer hee goeth about. Now very skillfull to do harme to others, and as ware to keepe hurte from hym selfe, yet first bet vnto it with his own rod: for in ye former warres of Germany being on ye Emperours side he fell into the handes of Duke Iohn Fridericke of Saxony, which chauce he is charged sore withall by Luice de Auila and that with so spightfull and open a mouth, as moued the Marches to offer hym the combat as I sayd before. He is now most courageous in hardest aduentures, most cherefull in present ieoperdy, and most paynefull in greatest labours: hauyng no souldier vnder him, that can better away with heate and cold or longer suffer hunger and thrist then he him selfe. His apparell is souldier like, better knowen by his fearce doynges then by his gay goyng: His souldiours feare him for his stoutnes, and loue him for his liberalitie: which winneth to him authoritie fit for a stout Captaine, and worketh in them obediece due to good souldiours.

This last yeare a litle before hys agreement wt the Emperour hys souldiours for lacke of money & meate fell to mutenyng and then fell the Marches fastest to hangyng, not hidyng him selfe for feare, but coming abroad with courage, did protest that neither the proudest should make misorder without punishmet nor yet the prodest should lacke as long as either he had peny in hys purse or loafe of bread in his tent. And after this sort of outward behauiour and inward condition in Marches Albert, as I haue marked his person my selfe and as I haue learned hys doynges by such as by experience knew them well & for theyr honesty would reporte them right and now how he fell fro the Emperour I wil as briefly declare.

The Marches serued the Emperour as I said before in the former warres in Germany agaynst the Lansgraue and the Duke of Saxony, where he lost some honour and spent much money. The Emperour shortly after came downe hether to Bruxels hauyng the Marches in his company, who lookyng for a great recompēce of hys costes, and receiving litle, and seying his honor not onely defaced in the field presently when he was taken prisoner, but also defamed for euer by writing cofirmed by the Emperours priviledge to grow abroad in the world began to take the matter so vnkindly, that he left comming to the Court, and kept his owne house: rising euery day very early: and writing all the forenoone very diligently yet what he did no man knew: so that his absence breed a talke in the Court, and his soddein and secret study wrought a wonderfull gelousy of his doynges in the Emperours head: for he knew the Marches to haue courage enough to attept matters ouer great: and therfore sent Mosieur Granduill vnto the Marches house as of hym selfe to grope out his doynges, who declared vnto the Marches ye Emperours great goodwil towards hym, shewyng that his Maiestie was purposed to make him a great personage, & to begyn withall had in mynde to geue hym a goodly and profitable office in all his Mintes.

The Marches aunswered roundly and plainly to the first, that the Emperour could not make him greater then he was, beyng Marches of *Bradenburge*: And as for ye office in the Minte, he said smiling, he vsed not oft to tell his owne money, & therefore he thought not to make the accopt of others & so made nothing of the Emperours offer: onely hee desired

Grandeuill that the Emperour would geue him leaue to go home to his owne, which he obtained: And at his departure ye Emperour gaue him a patent of 4000. crownes by ye yeare: But ye Marches was not well foure miles out of Bruxels, when he sent the patent by post to ye Emperour agayne saying: his Maiestie might better bestow it on some that had more neede of it. And in deede the Marches is as loth to receive of his frendes by beneuolence, as he is ready to take fro hys enemies by violèce which commeth somewhat of to stout a courage.

Thus the Marches came home not best contented as it may well appeare: nor saw not the Emperour after till he met hym at the siege of *Metz. Casmirus* his father and the Marches hym selfe were great spenders and deepe detters: the one for his stoutnes in warre, the other for his lustines in youth. And therefore became quicke borrowers & slow payers, which thyng brought the Marches into such trouble as hee had with the City of *Noremberge* with his neighbours the Bishop of *Herbipolis* and

with his Godfather the Byshop of Pamberge.

The Marches was no sooner come home, but these Byshops spying their tyme, when he had left the Emperours Court, and had quite lost or much lessened his frendship there, begā to trouble him with new suites for old debtes in Camera Imperiali, at Spires, where the Marches because hee lacked either fauour in the Court, or experience in young yeares, or good matter on his side, was alwayes wrong to the worst, and to stuffe vp his stomach with more matter of vnkindnes against the Emperour, it is sayd that letters from the greatest in the Emperours Court were neuer lackyng at Spires to helpe forward processe agaynst the Marches.

Shortly after this tyme begā the siege of Madenburg where Duke Maurice by the Emperour was appoynted generall. The Marches either weery of leesyng at home by sutes, or desirous to winne abroad by warre, or els purposing to practise some way to reuenge his displeasures made him ready to serue against Madenburg with 500. horse. And in the begynnyng of the spryng of the yeare .1551. he set forward and in his way went to visite Ernestus his cosin Duke of Saxony brother to Iohn Fridericke the prisoner with the Emperour. The selfe same time Lazarus Swendy was sent from the Emperour as Commissary to duke Ernestus with earnest commaundement that the

Duke and all his, should receive the doctrine of the *Interim*. And that I may accomplish my purpose, which is to paynt out as cruelly as I can, by writyng, the very Image of such persons as have played any notable part in these affaires: and so you beyng absent shall with some more pleasure read their doynges.

This Lazarus Swendy is a tall and a comely Lazarus personage, and beyng brought vp in learnyng Swendy. vnder Oecolampadius at Basile makyng (as it was told me by an honest man that was throughly acquainted with hym there) more accompt of his tall stature, the of any bewty of the mynde, began to be wery of learnyng, and became desirous to beare some bragge in the world: and so made a souldiour, mard a scholer, & because he would make a lusty chaunge from the feare of God and knowledge of Christs doctrine, he fell to be a peruerse and bloudy Papist: euer at hand in any cruell execution agaynst the poore Protestantes as commonly all such do which so wittingly shake of Christ, and his Gospell: such a Commissary you may be sure would cruelly enough execute his office.

Duke Ernestus told the Commissary that he his landes and lyfe were at his Maiesties commaundement, his Maiestie knew how quietly he bare him selfe alwayes, & therfore his trust was as he willingly serued the Emperour with true obedience: so he might as freely serue God with right conscience: for he would rather leaue hys landes and goodes and all to the Emperour, and go beg with his wife & children, then they would forsake the way of the Gospell which God hath commaunded them to follow.

And marke how euidently God dyd declare both how much such a Cōmission sent out abroad in Germany agaynst him and hys word dyd displease him: and also how much the prayers and sighyng hartes of iust men do in tyme preuayle with hym: for as a man of much honesty & great knowledge in all the matters of Germany did tell me, assoone as this Commissiō was once abroad, the practises in Germany began to styrre, yet not so openly as the Emperour might haue iust cause to withstand them, nor so couertly but he had occasion enough to mistrust them: and thereby he both lacked helpe for open remedy, and wanted no displeasure for inward grief.

Duke Ernestus, Marches Albert, and Lazarus Swendy sate at

supper togethers: & as they were talkyng of ye Interim, the Marches soddenly brast out into a fury saying: what deuill? will ye Emperour neuer leave striuyng with God in defacyng true Religiō and tossyng the world in debarryng all mēs liberties? addyng, that he was a Prince vnkynd to euery man, and kept touch with no mā, that could forget all mens merites, & would deceiue whom soeuer he promised.

The Duke liked not this hoate talke in hys house and at his table, but sayd: Cosin you speake but merely, and not as you thincke, adding much the prayse of the Emperours gentlenes shewed to many, and of his promise kept withall. Well (quoth the Marches) if he had bene either kynde where men haue deserued or would haue performed that hee promised: neither should I at this tyme accuse hym, nor you have sit here in this place to defende hym, for he promised to geue me this house with all the landes that thereto belongeth: but ye be affrayd Cosin (quoth ye Marches) lest this talke be to loud, and so heard to farre of: when in deede if the Commissarie here, be so honest a man as I take him, and so true to his master as he should be, he will not fayle to say what he hath heard, and on the same codition Commissary I bryng thee good lucke, and drancke of vnto hym a great glasse of wine. Lazarus Swendyes talke then sounded getly and quietly, for he was sore affrayed of the Marches. But he was no soner at home with the Emperour, but word was sent straight to Duke Maurice that the Marches who was as the come to Madenburg if he would needes serue there, should serue without wages.

Ye may be sure the Marches was chafed a new with this newes who already had lost a great sort of hys men and now must leese hys whole labour thether, and all his wages there, besides the losse of hys honour in takyng such shame of hys enemies, & receiving such vnkyndnes of the Emperour.

The Marches was not so greeued but Duke Maurice was as well contented with this commaundement: for euen then was Duke Maurice Secretary practisyng by Baron Hadeckes aduise with the French kyng for the sturre which dyd follow: and therfore was glad when he saw the Marches might be made hys so easely whiche came very soone to passe: so that the Marches for the same purpose in the ende of the same yeare went into Fraunce secretly, and was there with Shertly as

a commō Launce Knight, and named hymselfe Captaine Paul, lest the Emperour spials should get out hys doynges: where by the aduise of Shertly hee practised with the French kyng for the warres which followed after. This matter was told vnto me by Iohn Mecardus one of the chief Preachers in Augusta, who beyng banished the Empiere, when and how ye shall heare after was fayne to flye, and was with Shertly the same yeare in Fraunce.

The Marches came out of Fraunce in the begynnyng of the yeare .1552. and out of hand gathered vp men, but his purpose was not knowne, yet the Emperour mistrusted the matter, beyng at Insburg, sent Doct. Hasius one of hys counsell, to know what cause he had to make such sturre. This Doct. Hasius was once an earnest protestat, and wrote a booke on that side, & was one of the Palsgraues priuy counsell: But for hope to clime higher, he was very ready to be entised by ye Emperour to forsake first his master & then God: By who the Emperour knew much of all ye Princes Protestants purposes, for he was commonly one whom they had vsed in all their Dietes and priuate practises: which thing caused the Emperour to seeke to haue hym: that by his head he might the easelyer ouerthrow the Protestantes, & with them God and hys word in all Germany.

This man is very lyke M. Parrie her graces cofferer in head, face, legges and bellye. What auswere Hasius had I can not tell, but sure I am the Marches then both wrote his booke of complayntes agaynst the Emperour, and set it out in Printe. And also came forward with banner displayed, and tooke Dillyng upon Danuby the Cardinall of Augustus towne, which Cardinall with a few Priestes fled in post to the Emperour at Inspurg, where he found so cold cheare, and so litle comfort, that forthwith in all hast, he posted to Rome.

Horsemen and footemen in great companies still gathered to the Marches: and in the ende of March he marched forward to Augusta, where he, Duke Maurice, the young Lansgraue, the duke of Mechelburg, George, and Albert, with William Duke of Brunswycke, and other Princes confederate met together and besieged that Citie, Where I will leaue the Marches till I haue brought Duke Maurice and hys doinges to the same time, and to the same place.

¶ Duke Maurice.

Princes: the one duke *Iohn Fredericke* borne Elector, who yet liueth, defender of *Luther*, a noble setter out, and as true a follower of Christ and his Gospell: The other hys kynsman Duke *George* who is dead, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, a great mā of the Emperour, a mayntainer of *Cocleus*, and a notable piller of Papistry.

Duke Iohn Fredericke is now 50. yeares of age, so byg of personage as a very strong horse is scarse able to beare hym & yet is he a great deale bygger in all kynde of vertues, in wisedome, iustice, liberalitie, stoutnes, temperancy in hym self, and humanitie

Saxon. towardes others, in all affaires, and either fortunes vsing a singular trouth and stedfastnes: so that Luice de Auila, and the Secretary of Ferrare who wrote the story of the first warres in Germany, and professe to be his ernest enemies both for matters of state and also of Religion, were so compelled by his worthynes to say the truth as though theyr onely purpose had bene to write his prayse. He was five yeares prisoner in this Court, where he wan such loue of all men, as the Spanyardes now say: they would as gladly fight to set hym vp agayne as euer they dyd to pull hym downe: For they see that he is wise in all his doynges, iust in all hys dealynges, lowly to the meanest, princely with the biggest, and excellyng gentle to all, whom no adversitie could euer moue, nor pollicy at any tyme entice to shrincke from God and his word. And here I must needes commend the Secretary of Ferrare, who beyng a Papist, and writing the history of the late warres in Germany, doth not kepe backe a goodly testimony of Duke Frederickes constancy toward God and hys Religion.

When the Emperour had taken the Duke prisoner he came shortly after before the Citie of *Witemberg*: and beyng aduised by some bloudy cousellours that Duke *Frederickes* death should, by the terrour of it turne all the Protestantes from theyr Religion, caused a write to be made for the Duke to be executed the next mornyng vppon a solemne scaffold in the sight of his wife, children, and the whole Citie of *Wittemberg*.

This write signed with the Emperours own hand was sent

ouer night to the Duke, who whe the write came vnto hym was in hys tent playing at Chesse with his Cosin and fellow prisoner the Lansgraue of Lithenberg, and readyng it aduisedly ouer layd it downe quietly beside and made no countenance at all at ye matter, but sayd Cosin take good heede to your game, and returnyng to his play as quietly as though he had received some private letter of no great importance dyd geue the Lansgraue a trim mate.

The Emperour (I doubt not) chiefly moued by God: secondly of his great wisedome and naturall clemency, when he vnderstode his merueilous constancie chaunged his purpose and reuoked the write, and euer after gaue him more honour, and shewed him more humanitie then any Prince that euer

I have read of have hetherto done to his prisoner.

He is also such a louer of learning as his Librarie furnished with bookes of all tounges and scieces, passeth all other Libraries which are yet gathered in Christendome: For my frend Ieronimus Wolfius who translated Demosthenes out of Greeke into Latine, who had sene the Frech kings Library at Augusta, hath told me that though in six monethes he was not able onely to write out the titles of the bookes in the Fuggers Library, yet was it not so byg as Duke Frederickes was which he saw in Saxony. I thinke he vnderstandeth no straunge toung saue somewhat the Latin and a litle the French: And yet it is merueilous that my frend Iohannes Sturmius doth report by writing, what he heard Phillip Melanthon at a tyme say of this noble Duke: that he thought the Duke did privately read & write more euery day the did both he and D. Aurifaber which two were counted in all mens iudgementes to be the greatest readers and writers in all the Vniuersitie of Wittemberg.

And as hee doth thus read with such diligence, euen so he can report with such a memory what soeuer he doth read, and namely histories, as at his table on euery new occasion he is accustomed to recite some new story which hee doth with such pleasure and vtterance as men be content to leaue their meat to heare him talke: and yet hee hym selfe is not disdaynfull to heare the meanest nor will ouerwhart any mans reason. He talketh without tauntyng, and is mery without scoffyng, deludyng no man for sport, nor nippyng no man for spight.

Two kindes of men as his Preachers did tell me at Vilacho

he will neuer log suffer to be in his house: the one a commo mocker, who for his pride thincketh so wel of his owne wit as his most delight is to make other me fooles, and where God of his prouidence hath geuen small wit he for his sport wil make it none, and rather then he should leese his pleasure, he would an other should leese his wit: as I heare say was once done in England, and that by the sufferaunce of such as I am sorry for the good wil I beare them to heare such a report: the other a priuy whisperer a pickthācke a tale teller medling so with other mes matters, as he findeth no leysure to looke to his owne: one such in a great house is able to turne and tosse the quietnes of all. Such two kinds of men sayth the Duke besides the present troubling of others neuer or seldome come to good end them selues. He loueth not also bold and thicke skinned faces, wherein the meanyng of the hart doth neuer appeare. Nor such hid talke as lyeth in wayte for other mens wittes. would, yt wordes should be so framed with the toung, as they be alwayes ment in the hart.

And therfore the Duke him selfe thincketh nothyng which he dare not speake, nor speaketh nothyng whiche hee will not do. Yet hauyng thoughtes grounded vppon wisedome, his talke is alwayes so accom-

panied with discression and his deedes so attende vppon true dealyng, as he neither biteth with wordes, nor wringeth with deedes, except impudency follow the fault, which Xenophon wittely calleth the farthest point in al doyng, and then he vseth to speake home as he did to a Spanyard this last yeare at Villacho, who beyng of the Dukes garde, when he was prisoner, and now preasyng to sit at his table when he was at libertie, Because many nobles of ye Court came that day to dine with the duke, The gentleman Husher gently desired the Spanyard to spare his rowme for that day for a great personage: But hee countenancyng a braue Spanish bragge, sayd, Seignor ye know me well enough, and so sat him downe.

The Duke heard him, and preuentyng hys mans aunswere sayd: In deede you be to well knowen, by the same toke the last tyme you were here you tooke a gobblet away with you, & therfore when you haue dyned you may go without farewell, and haue leaue to come agayne when ye be sent for. In the meane while an honest man may occupy your place. But in

και δμοίοις,

remembryng so good a Prince I haue gone to farre from my matter: And yet the remembraunce of him is neuer out of place, whose worthynes is neuer to be forgotten.

Duke George of Saxony a litle before he dyed hauyng no child did disinherite Duke Henry his brother by his last wil because he was a Protestant, and gaue away his whole in-

heritaunce to Ferdinando kyng of Romaines.

But Duke Iohn Fredericke by force of armes set and kept his Cosin Duke Henry in his right: And he dying soone after left behynd hym two sonnes Duke Maurice and Duke Augustus, who likewise in their youth were defended in theyr right by the wisedome and force of Duke Iohn Fredericke. Duke Maurice was brought vp in Duke Iohn Frederickes house as if hee had bene hys owne sonne and maryed the Lansgraues daughter.

After it came to passe that the Emperour attempted to establish Papistry in Germany with the sword, agaynst which purpose the Lansgraue and duke Iohn Fredericke armed them selues not to resist the Emperour as the Papistes say, but to kepe Gods Religion vp, if any by violence would pull it downe, refusing neuer, but requiryng alwayes to referre them and theyr doctrine to a lawfull and free generall Councell where truth in Religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of euen and *Ep troos *equal indges and that by the touchstone of Gods

Canonicall Scriptures.

wordes al-Duke Maurice in the begynnyng of his warre wayes vsed in Thuciwas suspected neither of the Lansgraue nor of *dides* in Duke Fredericke beyng sonne in law to the one decidyng and nighe kinsman to the other and agreeyng in comon con-Religio with both. Yea he was not onely not trouersies. suspected, but as I heard skilful me say he was ready with his counsell & promised his ayde to helpe forward ye enterprice, or els Hance Fredericke beyng a Prince of such wisedome would not have left at home behind hym an enemy of such a force.

Francisco Duke Maurice Agent with the Emperour was asked, I beyng by at Augusta, how he could excuse his masters vnkindnes towards Iohn Fredericke who had bene such a father vnto him. He graunted that Duke Fredericke had bene great frend vnto him, and might have a greater if he had would, and the lesse strife had followed then did. And troth it is (sayd he)

as Duke Fredericke kept my master in his right, so atterward he put him from part of his right, when in his yong yeares hee chopped and chaunged landes with him when he listed: which thing my master comming to mans state much misliked, and oft complaynyng could neuer obtayne remedy therein. Kyndnes should rather haue kyndly encreased, so vnkyndly haue decayed specially when the one was trusted withall, and the other of such yeares, as he had neither wit to perceiue nor power to amend if any iniurie were offred vnto hym. Troth also it is that my master was brought vp in Duke Frederickes house: but he hath more cause to coplaine on them that brought him thether, then to thanke such as brought him vp there, where he had alwayes plentie of drinke and as much scant of good teachyng to come to such vertue and learnyng as dyd belong to a Prince of his state.

Now whether this talke was altogether true, or, an ill excuse was made to couer a foule fact I can not tell: but sure I am Francisco sayd thus. I have heard wise men say that it is not lyke, that for such a private strife Duke Maurice would have so forsaken not onely his frend and kinsman, but also his father in law or would for the losse a litle, or rather for the chauge of a peece have so hassarded his whole estate, which was once in the first warre all gone save Lypsia, and one other towne, beside the losse of love in whole Germany and his good name amongest all Protestantes, in the middest of whom all hys

liuinges do lye.

Well surely there was some great cause that could sturre vp so great a strife, and that was as wise men and Why Duke

wel willyng on Duke Maurice side in myne opinion haue truly iudged, the foule vice of am-

bition.

O Lord how many worthy men hath this one vice beareft from good common weales, which for all other respectes were most vnworthy of that end they came vnto. My hart weepes for those noble men of England, whose valiantnes in warre

Why Duke Maurice left hys dearest frendes and fell in with the Emperour.
Ambition.

noble men of England, whose valiantnes in warre, whose wisedome in peace this Realme shall want and wayle and wish and wish for in tyme to come, which of late by this onely vice haue bene taken from vs. Examples, lesse for our grief and as fit for this purpose be plenty enough in other states. Ouer many experiences do teach vs, though a Prince be wise stout liberall gentle mercyfull and excellently learned, though he deserue all the prayse, that vertue nature and fortune cā affourd him, yea that wit it selfe can wish for as we read that noble *Iulius Cæsar* had, and that by the testimony of those that loued him not, neuertheles if these two foule verses of *Euripides*.

Do right alway and wrong refraine, Except onely for rule and raigne.

If these verses say I do not onely sound well in his eare, but sincke deepe also in his hart, surely there is neither kindred, frendship, law, othe, obedience, countrey, God, nor his owne life, but he will hassard to leese all rather then to pursue this foule vice: For Polynices, for whom this verse was first made in Greeke, did fill not onely his owne countrey full of dead carcasses, but also whole Greece full of weepyng widdowes. And Casar for whom the same verse was turned into Latin did not onely turne vpside down the goodliest common wealth that euer GOD suffred to stand vpon the earth: but also tossed the whole world with battayle and slaughter euen almost from the sunne setting vnto the sunne rising. And did not stop to bryng souldiours to do mischief further then any man now dare iourney by land either for pleasure or profite.

But see the fruite and end which this vngodly great growing bringeth men vnto: Both these Princes were slaine the one by his brother the other by his owne sonne, of whom in life, nature & benefites would they should have taken most cofort of. But men that loue to clime to hye have alwayes least feare, and therefore by reason fall most soddenly and also fardest downe: yea the very bowghes that helped hym vp will now whip him in fallyng downe: For who so in climyng trusteth when he is goyng vp any bough at all ouer much, though hee seeme to tread neuer so surely vppon it yet if he once begyn to slyp the same selfe bough is reddiest to beat him that seemed before surest to beare him. Examples hereof be seen dayly and forgotten hereby.

An other mischief chaunceth commonly to these high climers: that they will heare no man so gladly as such which are euer hartenyng them to clime still. If wise and good men durst speake more freely then they do: great men should do both others and them selues lesse harme the they are wont to do. He hateth him selfe and hasteth his owne hurt that is content to heare none so gladly as either a foole or a flatterer. A wonderfull follie in a great man him selfe and some peace of miserie in a whole common wealth, where fooles chiefly, and flatterers may speake freely what they will and wise men and good men shal commonly be shent, if they speake what they should.

And how commeth this to passe? it is the very plague of God for great mens sinnes, and the plaine high way to their iust punishment. And when God suffreth them so willingly to graunt freedome to follie and so gladly to geue hearyng to flattery: But see when the great man is gone and hath playd his part, fooles and flatterers be stil vpon the stage. Such liue in all worldes, such laugh in all miseries: such Daui and Getæ, haue alwayes the longest partes: and go out who shal they tary in place still. I know also many a good mitio, which haue played long partes whom I pray God kepe long still vpon the stage. And I trust no man will be miscontent with my generall saying except conscience do pricke him of his owne private ill dovng.

There be common wealthes where freedome in speakyng truth hath kept great me from boldnes in doyng ill: for free and frendly aduise is the trimmest glasse that any great man can vse to spye his owne fault in: which taken away they runne commonly so farre in foule doyng, as some neuer stay till they passe all remedy saue onely to late repentaunce. And as I would haue no flattery but wish for freedome: So in no wise do I commend ouermuch boldnes, or any kind of rayling. But that libertie in speakyng should be so mingled with good will and discretion, as no great person should be vnhonorably spoken vpō, or any meane man touched out of order either for sport or spite: as some vnquiet heades neuer contented with any state are euer procuryng either secretly with raylyng billes, or openly with tauntyng songes, or els some scoffing common play.

An other kynd of to bold talkers surpasse all these selly rumors, who are called, and so will be, commo discoursers of all Princes affaires. These make a great accompt of them selues and will be commonly formost in any prease, and lustly with out blushing shoulder backe others: These will seeme to see further needes, in any secret affayre then the best and wisest cousellor a Prince hath. These be the open flatterers and priuy mislikers of all good counsellors doynges. And one common note, the most part of this brotherhode of discoursers commoly cary with them where they be bold to speake: to like better Tullies Offices, then S. Paules Epistles: and a tale in Bocace, then a story of the Bible.

And therfore for any Religion earnest setters forth of present tyme: with consciences confirmed with *Machiauelles* doctrine to thincke say and do what soeuer may serue best for profite or pleasure. But as concernyng flatterers and raylers to say mine opinion whether I like worse, surely as I haue read few men to haue bene hurt with bitter poysons: so haue I heard of as few great men to haue bene greatly harmed with sharpe talke: but are so ware therin, that commonly they wil complaine of theyr hurt before they feele harme. And flattery agayne is so sweete, that it pleaseth best, when it hurteth most, and therfore is alwayes to be feared: because it alwayes delighteth, but in lookyng aside to these hye climers, I haue gone out of the way, of mine owne matter.

To returne to Duke Maurice, he saw that Duke Frederickes fallyng might be his rising, and perchaunce was moued with some old iniuries, but beyng of young yeares and of nature full of desire and courage he was a trimme pray for old practises to be easely caryed away with fayre new promises sounding altogether to honor and profite, and so he forsoke his father and his frend, and became wholy the Emperours till hee had brought both them into prison. Duke Fredericke was taken in the field and so became the Emperours iust prisoner. Yet as long as the Lansgraue was abroad, the Emperour thought his purpose neuer atchieued, and therefore practised a new with duke Maurice to get him also into his hāds.

Duke Maurice with Ioachim Elector of Bradenburge became meanes betwixt the Lansgraue and the Emperour. Conditions both of mercy from the one, and of amendes from the other were drawen out. Maurice and the Marches bound them selues sureties to the Lasgraues children, for their fathers safe returne: for amongest the rest of coditions this was one of the

chiefest, that he should come in no prison. And so at *Hala* in *Saxony*, he came boldly to the Emperours presence, who received him not very cherefully, nor gave him not his hand which in *Germany* is the very token of an assured reconsiliation.

The Duke of Alua made the Lansgraue a supper, and called also thether Duke Maurice, and the Marches of Bradeburg where they had great chere: but after supper it was told Duke Maurice and the Marches, that they might depart for the

Lansgraue must lodge there that night.

On the morrow, they reasoned of the matter wholly to this purpose that the Emperours promises not the Lansgraues person ought to be kept. Aunswere was made that the Emperour went no further then conditions led him which were that he should not be kept in euerlastyng prison: and they agayne replyed he ought to be kept in no prison. When I was at Villacho in Carinthia I asked Duke Frederickes Preacher what were the very wordes in Dutch, wherby the Lansgraue agaynst his lookyng was kept in prison. He sayd the fallacion was very pretty and notable and tooke his penne and wrote in my booke the very wordes wherin the very controuersie stode, duke Maurice sayd it was.

Nicht in einig gefengknes .i. Not in any prison.

The Imperials sayd no, but thus.

Nicht in ewig gefengknes .i. Not in euerlastyng prison. And how soone einig, may be turned into ewig, not with scrape of knife, but with the least dash of a pen so that it shall neuer be

perceiued, a man that will proue, may easely see.

Moreouer Luice d'Auila in his booke doth reioyce that the Lansgraue did so deceaue hym selfe with his owne conditions in makyng of which as d'Auila saith, he was wont to esteeme his own wit aboue all other mens. Well, how so euer it came to passe the Lansgraue was kept in prison. And from that houre Duke Maurice fell from the Emperour thinckyng hym selfe most vnkyndly hādled, that he by whose meanes chiefly the Emperour had won such honor in Saxony, must now be rewarded with shame in all Germany, and be called a traytor to GOD, and hys countrey, his father, and his frend. And though he was greeued inwardly at the hart, yet he bare all thynges quietly in coutenance purposing though he had lost will yet



would he not leese his profite, and so hiding his hurt presently, whilest some fitter time should discouer some better remedy, he went with the Emperour to Augusta, where according to hys promise he was made Elector. Yet the same night after hys solemne creation, two verses set vppon his gate might more greue him, then all that honour could delight hym, which were these.

Seu Dux, seu Princeps, seu nunc dicaris Elector. Mauricij Patriæ proditor ipse tui.

After that he had gotten that he looked for, he gat him home into his countrey: from whence afterward the Emperour with no pollicie could euer bryng hym, he alwayes alledgyng, the feare that he had of some sturre by Duke Frederickes children.

Hetherto the Germaines much mislyked the doynges of Duke Maurice. But after that he had felt him selfe so vnkyndly abused as for his good seruice to be made the betrayer of his father, he tooke such matters in hand & brought them so to passe, as he recouered the loue of his countrey and purchased such hate of his enemyes, as the Spanyardes tooke their displeasure from all other, and bestowed wholly vppon the Duke Maurice: and yet he bare him selfe with such wit, and courage agaynst them, as they had alwayes cause to feare hym and neuer occasion to contemne hym: Yea if he had lived he would sooner men thinke haue driuen all Spanyardes out of Germany, then they should have hurt hym in Saxony, for he had ioyned vnto him such strength, and there was in him such pollicie, as they durst neuer haue come vppon him with power, nor neuer should have gone beyond hym with wit. He had so displeased the Emperour as he knew wel neither his lades: nor his life could make amendes whe x. poundes of Benefites which he was able to do, could not way with one ounce of displeasure that he had already done: and therefore neuer after sought to seeke his loue which he knew could neuer be gotten: but gaue him selfe wholy to set vp Maximilia, who beyng him selfe of great power, and of all other most beloued for his worthynes in all Germany, and now vsing the head and hand of duke Maurice and his frendes, and hauyng the helpe of as many as hated the Spanyardes, that is to say almost all Protestantes and Papistes to in Germany, he should easely haue obtained what soeuer he had gone about. But that bonde is now broken: for euen this day when I was writyng this place, came word to this Court, that Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice had fought, where the Marches had lost the field, and Duke Maurice had lost his life: which whole battaile because it is notable, I would here at length describe, but that I should wander to farre from my purposed matter: and therfore I in an other place, or els some other with better oportunitie shall at large report the matter.

Ye see the cause why and the time whe Duke Maurice fell from the Emperour. And because he was so notable a Prince, I will describe also the maner how he proceded in all these doyngs, as I learned amongest them that did not greatly loue him. And because it were small gayne to flatter him that is gone, and great shame to lye vppon him that is dead, for pleasyng any that be alyue, I so will report on hym as his doynges since my commyng to this Court haue deserued.

He was now of the age of xxxij. yeares well faced in countenance complection fauour and beard not much vnlike to Syr Raffe Sadler but some deale higher, and well and strong made to beare any labour and payne. He was once (men say) geuen to drinckyng, but now he had cleane left it, contented with small diet and litle sleepe in this last yeares, and therefore had a wakyng and workyng head: and became so witty and secret, so hardy and ware, so skillfull of wayes, both to do harme to others, and keepe hurt from him selfe, as he neuer tooke enterprise in hand wherein he put not his aduersary alwayes to the worse. And to let other matter of Germany passe, euen this last yeare within the compasse of eight monethes he professed him selfe open enemy agaynst foure the greatest powers that I know vpon earth. The Turke, the Pope, the Emperour, & the French king, & ob-The tained his purpose and wan prayse agaynst the all Turke. foure: For he in person and pollicie & courage dis-

patched the Turkes purpose and power this last yeare in Hungary.

The Councell at Trent which the Pope & the Emperour went so about to establish he onely brought to none effect: first by open protestation agaynst that

Councell, and after by his commyng with his army to Insburge, he brought such feare to the Bishops there gathered, that they

ran euery one farre away fro thence, with such speed as they neuer durst hetherto speake of meeting there agayne. And The Emhow he delt with ye Emperour, both in forcyng perour. him to flye from *Insburge*, and compellyng him to such a peace at *Passo*, my whole *Diarium* shall at full instruct

And of all other he serued the Frech kyng best, who fayre pretendyng the deliuery of the ij. Princes captiues, French kyng. and the maintenaunce of Religion & libertie in Germany, purposed in very deede nothyng els, but ye destruction of the Emperor, & the house of Austria: for what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not onely followeth none him selfe privately in his life, but also persecuteth the trouth in others openly with the sword. But I do him wrong to say he followeth none, who could for his purpose be cotent at one time to embrace all: & for to do hurt enough to the Emperor would become at once by solemne league, Protestat, Papish, Turkish, & deuillish. But such Princes that cary nothlyng els but the name of bearing vp Gods word, deserue the same prayse and the same end that that Prince dyd, who semed so ready to beare vp ye Arke of the Lord, & yet otherwise

Agayne how much the French kyng cared for the libertie of Germany he well declared in stealyng away so vnhonorably from the Empire the Citie of Metz. But he thinckyng to abuse Duke Maurice for his ambitious purpose, in very deede & in the end Duke Maurice vsed him as he should: for first he made him pay well for ye whole warres in Germany as it is sayd .200000. crownes a moneth: And after when the French kyng fell to catching of Cities, duke Maurice tendryng ye state of his countrey brake of with hym, and began to parle wt the good kyng of Romanes at Luiz, which thyng whe the Frēch kyng heard came within ij. miles of the Rhene, he straight way hyed more hastly & with more disorder, for all his great hast, out of Germany, as they say that were there, then the Emperour being sicke without company and pressed by his enemy dyd go from Insburg.

pursued Gods true Prophetes & his word.

And see how nobly Duke Maurice did which for ye loue of his courtey, durst fall from the Frēch kyng before he atchieued any thyng agaynst the Emperour. And rather the Germany

should leese her Cities so by the French king, he had leuer hassard, both the leesing of his enterprice, & also the leauyng of hys father in law still in prison with the Emperour. But as he had wit to take money plety of the French kyng: so had he wit also to furnish him selfe so fro home as he durst first fall out with the French kyng, & durst also after to set vpo the Emperour till he had brought his honest purpose to passe. For there is not almost any in this Court but they will say duke Maurice did honestly in deliuering his father by strong hand, which before left no fayre meane vnproued to do that humbly by entreaty, which after, was copelled to bryng to passe stoutly by force. And I pray you first marke well what he did and then judge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to

For first he him selfe with ye Marches of Bradenburge most humbly by private sute laboured for the Lansgraves delivery offring to the Emperour, princely offers, and not to be refused: as a huge summe of money: a fayre quantitie of great ordinaunce, certaine holdes of his, some to be Duke defaced, some geue to ye Emperour: and also

personall pledges of great houses for hys good haberaunce all the residue of his life.

Maurice offer for the Lāsgraues deliuery.

After whe this sute was not regarded they againe procured all ye Princes & states of Germany beyng at ye Diet at Augusta .an. 1548. to be huble intercessors for him, offring ye selfe same coditions rehearsed before addyng this more to become sureties them selves in any bande to his Maiestie for

his due obedience for tyme to come.

Thirdly by the Prince of Spayne Duke Maurice neuer left to entreat ye Emperour, yea he was so carefull of ye matter, that his Ambassadors followed the Prince euen to his shipping at Genoa: who had spoke ofte presently before, & wrote earnestly fro thence to his father for ye Lansgraues delivery, & it would not be. And wise me may say it was not ye wisest deede that euer ye Emperor did, to deny ye prince this sute: for if ye Prince had bene made ye deliuerer of ye ij. princes out of captiuity, he had won therby such fauor in all Germany, as wtout all doubt he had bene made coadiutor wt the k. of Romaines his vncle, And afterward ye Emperor. Which thing was lustly denyed to ye Emperor by the Electors, though he

laboured in yt matter so sore as he neuer dyd in any other before.

Fourthly this last yeare a litle before the open warres duke Maurice procured once agayne, not onely all ye Princes and free Estates of Germany, but also the kyng of Romaines Ferdinand, Maximilian his sonne king of Boeme, the kyng of Pole, the kyng of Demarke the king of Sweden, to send also their Ambassadors for this suite, so that at once xxiiij. Ambassadours came before the Emperour together at Insburge. To whom whe the Emperour had geuen very fayre wordes in effect cocernyng a double meanyng aunswere, & that was this: That it did him good to see so noble an Ambassage at once. therfore so many Princes should well vinderstand yt he would make a good accompt of their sute. Neuertheles because duke Maurice was the chiefest partie herein he would with speede send for him, and vse his head for the better endyng of this matter. But Duke Maurice seying that all these Ambassadors wet home without him, and that the matter was referred to his present talke who was neuer heard in the matter before, he wisely met with this double meaning aunswere of the Emperours with a double meanyng replica agayne; for he promised the Emperour to come, and at last in deede came so hastly and so hotely as the Emperour could not abide the heat of his breath: For when duke Maurice saw that all humble sutes, all quiet meanes were spent in vayne, & had to beare him iust witnes therin all ye Princes of Germany: First with close pollicie, after open power both wittely and stoutly, he atchieued more by force then he required by suite: For the Emperour was glad to condiscend (which surely in an extreme aduersitie was done like a wise Prince) without money, without artillery, without defacyng of holdes, wtout receiuyng of pledges, to send the Lansgraue home, honorably accopanied with (at the Emperors charges) the nobilitie of Brabant & Flaunders.

This last day I dined with the Ambassadour of Venice in copany of many wise heades, where duke Maurice was greatly praysed of some for his wit: of other for ye execution of his purposes. Well sayth a lusty Italian Priest, I can not much prayse his wit, which might have had the Emperour in his handes & would not. Loe such be these Machiauels heades, who thincke no mā to have so much wit as he should, except

he do more mischief then he neede. But Duke Maurice purposing to do no harme to the Emperour, but good to his father in law, obtaining ye one pursued not the other. Yea I know it to be most true whe we fled from Insburg so hastly, Duke Maurice sent a post to ye good kyng of Romanes, & bad him will the Emperor to make no such speede for he purposed not to hurt his person: but to helpe his frend, whereupon the Diet at Passo immediatly followed.

I comend rather the iudgement of Iohn Baptist Gascaldo, the Emperours man and ye kyng of Romanes generall
Iohn Baptin Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or tist Gascaldo.

In Hungar

Marches Marignan told some in this Court foure yeares ago that Duke Maurice should become the greatest enemy to the Emperour that euer the Emperour had: which thing he iudged (I beleue) not of any troublesome nature which he saw in Duke Maurice, but of the great wronges that were done to Duke Maurice, knowyng that he had both wit to perceiue them quietly and also a courage not to beare them ouer long.

Some other in this court that loued not duke *Maurice*, & hauyng no hurt to do him by power, went about to say him some for spight & therfore wrote these two spightfull verses agaynst him.

Iugurtham Maurus prodit Mauricius vltra, Henricum, Patruum, Socerum, cum Cæsare, Gallum.

He that gaue me this verse added thereunto this his iudgement, well (sayth he) he that could finde in his hart to betray his frend Duke *Henry* of *Brunswicke*, his nigh kinsman Duke *Fredericke*, his father in law the *Lansgraue*, his soueraigne Lord the Emperour, his confederate the *French* kyng, breakyng all bondes of frendshyp, nature, law, obediēce, and othe, shall



besides all these, deceaue all men if at length he do not deceaue hym selfe. This verse and this sentence, the one made of spight, the other spoken of displeasure be here commended as men be affectioned. For my part as I can not accuse him for all: so will I not excuse him for part. And yet since I came to this Court I should do him wrong if I did not contries.

Court haue iudged on him, euen those that for countrey & Religion were not his frendes, that is, to haue shewed him selfe in all these affayres betwixt the Emperour and him: first, humble in intreatyng, diligent in pursuyng, witty in purposing, secret in workyng, fearce to foresee by open warre, ready to parle for common peace, wise in choyse of conditions, and iust in performyng of couenaunts.

And I know he offended the Emperour beyond all remedy of amēdes: So would I be loth to see as I haue once sene, his Maiestie fall so agayne into any enemyes handes: leste peraduenture lesse gentlenes would be found in him then was found in Duke Maurice, who when he was most able to hurt, was most ready to hold hys hād and that agaynst such an enemy, as he knew well would neuer loue him, and should alwayes be of most power to reuenge. If Duke Maurice had had a Machiauels head or a cowardes hart, he would haue worne a bloudyer sword the he did, which he neuer drew out in all these sturres, but once at ye Cluce & yt was to saue ye Emperors mē.

Hetherto I haue followed the order of persons which hath caused me somewhat to misorder both tyme & matter, yet where diuers great affaires come together, a man shall write confusedly for the matter, & vnpleasantly for ye reader, if he vse not such an apt kinde of partitio as ye matter will best affourde, which thyng (Plato sayth) who cā not do, knoweth not how to write. Herein Herodotus deserueth in myne opinion a great deale more prayse then Thucidides, although he wrote of a matter more confused for places, time, and persons, then the other did.

In this point also Appianus Alexandrinus is very commendable, and not by chaunce but by skil doth follow this order, declaryng in his Prologue iust causes why he should do so. Our writers in later tyme, both in Latin & other tounges commonly confound to many matters together, and so write well of no one. But see master Astley I thincking to be in some

present talke with you, after our old wont do seeme to forget

both my selfe and my purpose.

For the rest that is behind I will use a grose & homely kind of talke with you: for I will now as it were cary you, out of England with me, & will lead you the same way that I went euen to the Emperours Court beyng at Augusta .an. 1550. And I will let you see in what case it stode, and what thyngs were in doyng when we came first thether. After I wil cary you and that a pace, because the chiefest matters be throughly touched in this my former booke, through the greatest affaires of ij. yeares in this Court. Yet in order till we haue brought Duke Maurice (as I promised you) to ioyne with Marches Albert in besiegyng Augusta. And the because priuy practises brast out into open sturres I might better marke thynges dayly then I could before. And so we will depart with the Emperour from Insburg, and see dayly what chaunces were wrought by feare and hope in this Court till hys Maiestie left the siege of Metz, and came downe hether to Bruxels: where then all things were shut vp into secret practises

till lastly of all, they brake forth into new mischiefes, betwixt the Emperour and Fraunce in Picardy, & also betwixt Duke Maurice, and the Marches in hyghe Germany which thynges I trust some other shall marke and describe a great deale better then I am hable to doe.

¶ FINIS.



THE

SCHOLEMASTER

Or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to understand, write, and speake, the Latin tong, but specially purposed for the private brynging up of youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would, by themselves, without à Scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines, recover à sufficient habilitie, to understand, write, and speake Latin.

¶ By Roger Ascham.

¶ An. 1570.

AT LONDON.

Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.

¶ Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, per Decennium.



To the honorable Sir William

Cecill Knight, principall Secretarie to the Quenes most excellent Maiestie.

Ondry and reasonable be the causes why learned men have used to offer and dedicate such workes as they put abrode, to some such personage as they thinke fittest, either in respect of abilitie of defense, or skill for iugement, or private regard of kindenesse and dutie. Euery one of those considerations, Syr, moue me of right to offer this my late husbands M. Aschams worke unto you. For well remembryng how much all good learnyng oweth unto you for defense therof, as the Vniuersitie of Cambrige, of which my said late husband was a member, haue in chosing you their worthy Chaunceller acknowledged, and how happily you have spent your time in such studies & caried the vse therof to the right ende, to the good seruice of the Quenes Maiestie and your contrey to all our benefites, thyrdly how much my sayd husband was many wayes bound unto you, and how gladly and comfortably he used in hys lyfe to recognise and report your goodnesse toward bym, leauyng with me then bys poore widow and a great sort of orphanes a good comfort in the hope of your good continuance, which I have truly found to me and myne, and therfore do duely and dayly pray for you and yours: I could not finde any man for whose name this booke was more agreable for hope [of] protection, more mete for submission to iudgement, nor more due for respect of worthynesse of your part and thankefulnesse of my husbandes and myne. Good I trust it shall do. as I am put in great hope by many very well learned that can well iudge therof. Mete therefore I compt it that such good as my busband was able to doe and leave to the common weale, it should

174.

be received under your name, and that the world should owe thanke therof to you, to whom my husband the authour of it was for good receyved of you, most dutiefully bounden. And so besechyng you, to take on you the defense of this booke, to avaunce the good that may come of it by your allowance and furtherance to publike use and benefite, and to accept the thankefull recognition of me and my poore children, trustyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. Ascham and his, and dayly commendyng the prosperous estate of you and yours to God whom you serve and whoes you are, I rest to trouble you.

Your humble Margaret Ascham.

A Præface to the Reader.

Hen the great plage was at London, the yeare 1563. the Quenes Maiestie Queene Elizabeth, lay at her Castle of Windsore: Where, vpon the 10. day of December, it fortuned, that in Sir William Cicells chamber, hir Highnesse Principall Secretarie, there dined togither these personages, M. Secretarie him selfe, Syr William Peter, Syr 7. Mason, D. Wotton, Syr Richard Sackuille Treasurer of the Exchecker, Syr Walter Mildmaye Chauncellor of the Exchecker, M. Haddon Master of Requestes, M. John Astely Master of the Iewell house, M. Bernard Hampton, M. Nicasius, and J. Of which number, the most part were of hir Maiesties most honourable privie Counsell, and the reast serving hir in verie good place. I was glad than, and do reioice yet to remember, that my chance was so happie, to be there that day, in the companie of so manie wise & good men togither, as hardly than could have beene piked out againe, out of all England beside.

M. Secretarie hath this accustomed maner, though his head be neuer so full of most weightie affaires of the Realme, yet, at diner time he doth seeme to lay them alwaies aside: and findeth euer fitte occasion to taulke pleasantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning: wherein, he will curteslie heare the minde of the meanest at his Table.

Not long after our sitting doune, I have strange newes brought me, sayth M. Secretarie, this morning, that diverse Scholers of Eaton, be runne awaie from the Schole, for feare of beating. Whereupon, M. Secretarie tooke occasion, to wishe, that some

more discretion were in many Scholemasters, in vsing correction, than commonlie there is. Who many times, punishe rather, the weakenes of nature, than the fault of the Scholer. Whereby, many Scholers, that might else proue well, be driuen to hate learning, before they knowe, what learning meaneth: and so, are made willing to forsake their booke, and be glad to be put to any other kinde of liuing.

M. Peter, as one somewhat seuere of nature, said plainlie, that the Rodde onelie, was the sworde, that must M. Peter. keepe, the Schole in obedience, and the Scholer M. Wotton. in good order. M. Wotton, à man milde of nature, with soft voice, and fewe wordes, inclined to M. Secretaries iudgement, and said, in mine opinion, the Schole-Ludus lihouse should be in deede, as it is called by name, terarum. the house of playe and pleasure, and not of feare and bondage: and as I do remember, so saith Plato de Rep. 7. Socrates in one place of Plato. And therefore, if a Rodde carie the feare of a Sworde, it is no maruell, if those that be fearefull of nature, chose rather to forsake the Plaie, than to stand alwaies within the feare of a Sworde in a fonde mans handling. M. Mason, after his maner, was M. Mason. verie merie with both parties, pleasantlie playing, both, with the shrewde touches of many courste boyes, and with the small discretion of many leude Scholemasters. M. Haddon was fullie of M. Peters opinion, and said, that M. Haddon. the best Scholemaster of our time, was the greatest beater, and named the Person. Though, quoth I, it was his good fortune, to send from his Schole, The Author of vnto the Vniuersitie, one of the best Scholers in this booke. deede of all our time, yet wise men do thinke, that that came so to passe, rather, by the great towardnes of the Scholer, than by the great beating of the Master: and whether this be true or no, you your selfe are best witnes. I said somewhat farder in the matter, how, and whie, yong children, were soner allured by loue, than driven by beating, to atteyne good learning: wherein I was the bolder to say my minde, bicause M. Secretarie curteslie prouoked me thereunto: or else, in such à companie, and namelie in his præsence, my wonte is, to be more willing, to vse mine eares, than to occupie my tonge.

Syr Walter Mildmaye, M. Astley, and the rest, said verie litle: onelie Syr Rich. Sackuill, said nothing at all. After dinner I went vp to read with the Queenes Maiestie. We red than togither in the Greke tongue, as I well remember, Demost. that noble Oration of Demosthenes against Æschines, περί παραπρεσβ. for his false dealing in his Ambassage to king Philip of Macedonie. Syr Rich. Sackuile came vp sone after: and finding me in hir Maiesties priuie chamber, he Syr R. tooke me by the hand, & carying me to à Sackuiles 🌉 communi- " windoe, said, M. Ascham, I would not for a good cation with deale of monie, haue bene, this daie, absent from the Author diner. Where, though I said nothing, yet I gaue of this booke. as good eare, and do consider as well the taulke, that passed, as any one did there. M. Secretarie said very wisely, and most truely, that many yong wittes be driuen to hate learninge, before they know what learninge is. I can be good witnes to this my selfe: For a fond Scholemaster, before I was fullie fourtene yeare olde, draue me so, with feare of beating, from all loue of learninge, as nowe, when I know, what difference it is, to have learninge, and to have litle, or none at all, I feele it my greatest greife, and finde it my greatest hurte, that euer came to me, that it was my so ill chance, to light vpon so lewde à Scholemaster. But seing it is but in vain, to lament thinges paste, and also wisdome to looke to thinges to cum, surely, God willinge, if God lend me life, I will make this my mishap, some occasion of good hap, to litle Robert Sackuile my sonnes sonne. For whose bringinge vp, I would gladlie, if it so please you, vse speciallie your good aduice. I heare saie, you have à sonne, moch of his age: we wil deale thus togither. Point you out a Scholemaster, who by your order, shall teache my sonne and yours, and for all the rest, I will prouide, yea though they three do cost me a couple of hundred poundes by yeare: and beside, you shall finde me as fast à Frend to you and yours, as perchance any you haue. Which promise, the worthie Ientleman surelie kept with me, vntill his dying daye.

We had than farther taulke togither, of bringing vp of children: of the nature, of quicke, and hard wittes:

The cheise of the right choice of a good witte: of Feare, and pointes of this booke.

children and came to yonge men, namely, Ientlemen: we taulked of their to moch libertie, to liue as they lust: of their letting louse to sone, to ouer moch experience of ill, contrarie to the good order of many good olde common welthes of the Persians and Grekes: of witte gathered, and good fortune gotten, by some, onely by experience, without learning. And lastlie, he required of me verie earnestlie, to shewe, what I thought of the common goinge of Englishe men into Italie. But, sayth he, bicause this place, and this tyme, will not suffer so long taulke, as these good matters require, therefore I pray you, at my request, and at your leysure, put in some order of writing, the cheife pointes of this our taulke, concerning the right order of teachinge, and honestie of liuing, for the good bringing vp of children & yong men. And surelie, beside contentinge me, you shall both please and profit verie many others. I made some excuse by lacke of habilitie, and weakenes of bodie: well, sayth he, I am not now to learne, what you can do. Our deare frende, good M. Goodricke, whose judgement I could well beleue, did once for all, satisfye me fullie therein. Againe, I heard you say, not long agoe, that you may thanke Syr John Cheke, for all the learninge you haue: And I know verie well my selfe, that you did teach the Quene. And therefore seing God did so blesse you, to make you the Scholer of the best Master, and also the Scholemaster of the best Scholer, that euer were in our tyme, surelie, you should please God, benefite your countrie, & honest your owne name, if you would take the paines, to impart to others, what you learned of soch à Master, and how ye taught such à scholer. And, in vttering the stuffe ye receiued of the one, in declaring the order ye tooke with the other, ye shall neuer lacke, neither matter, nor maner, what to write, nor how to write in this kinde of Argument.

I beginning some farther excuse, sodeinlie was called to cum to the Queene. The night following, I slept litle, my head was so full of this our former taulke, and I so mindefull, somewhat to satisfie the honest request of so deare à frend, I thought to præpare some litle treatise for a New yeares gift that Christmas. But, as it chanceth to busie builders, so, in building thys my poore Scholehouse (the rather bicause the forme of it is somewhat new, and differing from others) the worke

(Smith.

Watson. Syr I.

M. Haddo.

I. Sturmius.

Plato. Aristotle.

rose dailie higher and wider, than I thought it would at the

And though it appeare now, and be in verie deede, but a

beginninge.

small cotage, poore for the stuffe, and rude for the workemanship, yet in going forward, I found the site so good, as I was lothe to giue it ouer, but the making so costlie, outreaching my habilitie, as many tymes I wished, that some one of those three, my deare frendes, with full pursses, Syr Tho. Smithe, M. Hadden, or M. Watson, had had the doing of it. Yet, neuerthelesse, I my selfe, spending gladlie that litle, that I gatte at home by good Syr Iohn Cheke, and that that I borrowed abroad of my frend Sturmius, beside somewhat that was left me in Reuersion by my olde Masters, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, I have at last patched it vp, as I could,

and as you see. If the matter be meane, and meanly handled, I pray you beare, both with me, and it: for neuer worke went vp in worse wether, with mo lettes and stoppes, than this poore Scholehouse of mine. Westminster Hall can beare some witnesse, beside moch weakenes of bodie, but more trouble of minde, by some such sores, as greue me to toche them my selfe, and therefore I purpose not to open them to others. And, in middes of outward injuries, and inward cares, to encrease them withall, good Syr Rich. Sackuile

dieth, that worthie Ientleman: That earnest fauorer and furtherer of Gods true Religion:

That faithfull Seruitor to his Prince and Countrie: A louer of learning, & all learned men: Wise in all doinges: Curtesse to all persons: shewing spite to none: doing good to many: and as I well found, to me so fast a frend, as I neuer lost the like before. Whan he was gone, my hart was dead. There was not one, that woare à blacke gowne for him, who caried à heuier hart for him, than I. Whan he was gone, I cast this booke awaie: I could not looke vpon it, but with weping eyes, in remembring him, who was the onelie setter on, to do it, and would have bene, not onelie à glad commender of it, but also a sure and certaine comfort, to me and mine, for it. Almost two yeares togither, this booke lay scattered, and neglected, and had bene quite giuen ouer of me, if the goodnesse of one had not giuen me some life and spirite againe. God, the

mouer of goodnesse, prosper alwaies him & his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine, and, I trust to God, shall comfort more and more. Of whom, most iustlie I may saie, and verie oft, and alwaies gladlie, I am wont to say, that sweete verse of Sophocles, spoken by Oedipus to worthie Theseus.

Soph. in Oed. Col. $\check{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ $[\gamma\dot{a}\rho]$ $\check{a}\chi\omega$ $\delta\iota\dot{a}$ $\sigma\dot{\epsilon}$, κ οὖκ $\check{a}\lambda\lambda$ ον $\beta\rho$ οτῶν.

Thys hope hath helped me to end this booke: which, if he allowe, I shall thinke my labours well imployed, and shall not moch æsteme the misliking of any others. And I trust, he shall thinke the better of it, bicause he shall finde the best part thereof, to cum out of his Schole, whom he, of all men loued and liked best.

Yet some men, frendly enough of nature, but of small iudgement in learninge, do thinke, I take to moch paines, and

Plato in initio
Theagis.
οὐ γὰρ ἔστι περὶ ὅτου θειστέρου ἀνθρωπος
ἄν βουλεύσαιτο, ἡ περὶ παιδείας, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων.

spend to moch time, in settinge forth these childrens affaires. But those good men were neuer brought vp in Socrates Schole, who saith plainlie, that no man goeth about a more godlie purpose, than he that is mindfull of the good bringing vp, both of hys owne, and other mens children.

περί παιδείας, και τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων. Therfore, I trust, good and wise men, will thinke well of this my doing. And of other, that thinke otherwise, I will thinke my selfe, they are but men, to be pardoned for their follie, and pitied for their ignoraunce.

In writing this booke, I have had earnest respecte to three speciall pointes, trothe of Religion, honestie in liuing, right order in learning. In which three waies, I praie God, my poore children may diligently waulke: for whose sake, as nature moued, and reason required, and necessitie also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these paines.

For, seing at my death, I am not like to leave them any great store of living, therefore in my life time, I thought good to bequeath vnto the, in this litle booke, as in my Will and Testament, the right waie to good learning: which if they followe, with the feare of God, they shall verie well cum to sufficiencie of livinge.

I wishe also, with all my hart, that yong M. Rob. Sackuille,

may take that fructe of this labor, that his worthie Grauntfather purposed he should have done: And if any other do take, either proffet, or pleasure hereby, they have cause to thanke M. Robert Sackwille, for whom speciallie this my Scholemaster was prouided.

And one thing I would have the Reader consider in readinge this booke, that bicause, no Scholemaster hath charge of any childe, before he enter into hys Schole, therefore I leaving all former care, of their good bringing vp, to wise and good Parentes, as a matter not belonging to the Scholemaster, I do appoynt thys my Scholemaster, than, and there to begin, where his office and charge beginneth. Which charge lasteth not long, but vntill the Scholer be made hable to go to the Vniuersitie, to procede in Logike, Rhetoricke, and other kindes of learning.

Yet if my Scholemaster, for loue he beareth to hys Scholer, shall teach hym somewhat for hys furtherance,

and better iudgement in learning, that may serue him seuen yeare after in the Vniuersitie, he doth hys Scholer no more wrong, nor deserueth no worse name therby, than he doth in London, who sellinge silke or cloth vnto his frend, doth giue hym better measure, than either hys promise or bargaine

Farewell in Christ.

The first booke for the youth.

Fter the childe hath learned perfitlie the eight partes of speach, let him then learne the right ioyning togither of substantiues with adjectives, the nowne with the verbe, the relatiue with the antecedent. And in learninge farther hys Syntaxis, by mine aduice, he shall not use the common order in common scholes, for making of latines: wherby, the childe commonlie learneth, first, an euill choice of wordes, Cic. de (and right choice of wordes, saith Cæsar, is the Cla. or. foundation of eloquence) than, a wrong placing of wordes: and lastlie, an ill framing of the sentence, with a peruerse judgement, both of wordes and sentences. faultes, taking once roote in yougthe, be neuer, or Making of hardlie, pluckt away in age. Moreouer, there is Lattines

marreth
Children.

no one thing, that hath more, either dulled the
wittes, or taken awaye the will of children from
learning, then the care they haue, to satisfie their masters, in
making of latines.

For, the scholer, is commonlie beat for the making, whe the master were more worthie to be beat for the mending, or rather, marring of the same: The master many times, being as ignorant as the childe, what to saie properlie and fitlie to the matter.

Two scholemasters haue set forth in print, either of them Horman. a booke, of soch kinde of latines, Horman and Whitting- Whittington.

that, which an other daie, if he be wise, and cum to iudgement, he must be faine to vnlearne againe.

and the

There is a waie, touched in the first booke of Cicero De Oratore, which, wiselie brought into scholes, truely taught, and costantly vsed, would not onely take wholly away this butcherlie feare in making of latines, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easie vnderstandyng of the tonge, a readines to speake, a facultie to write, a true iudgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what tonge so euer he doth vse.

The waie is this. After the three Concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read vnto hym the Epistles of Cicero, gathered togither and chosen out by Sturmius, for

the capacitie of children.

First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause, and matter of the letter: then, let him The order construe it into Englishe, so oft, as the childe may of teaching. easilie carie awaie the vnderstanding of it: Lastlie, parse it ouer perfitlie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both construe and parse it ouer againe: so, that it may appeare, that the childe douteth in nothing, that his master taught him before. After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompe him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, Two palet the master take from him his latin booke, and per bokes. pausing an houre, at the least, than let the childe translate his owne Englishe into latin againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with Tullies booke, and laie them both togither: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of Tullies wordes, let the master praise him, and saie here ye do well. For I assure you, there is no such whetstone, to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learninge, as is praise.

But if the childe misse, either in forgetting a worde, or in chaunging a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not haue the master, either froune, or chide with him, if the childe haue done his diligence, and vsed no trewandship

(1)

deren for construction of great emergence must make shall been note profit of the faces, emile warred at motion of the faces, emile warred at motion of the faces, of the profit of the faces, of the faces of the fa

There you was le trese fewe lises, I sauc wrapped to, the most tellious yet the removes, and also the ground of almost all the Rewies, that are we have reaght of the Matter, and so harrie learned by the bestien, it all common delicles : which after this sort, the matter that, teach without all error, and the studen shall butter withing great parties, the master being led by so sure a go he, and the wholes being prought into so plane and easie a way. And therefore, we do not contemne Rewies, but we youther reach Kewler: and teach them, more plaintie, sensible, and orderie, than they be commonlie taught in common in lunes. For when the Master shall compare Tailor booke with his Echolers translation, let the Master, at the first, lead and teach his Scholer, to joyne the Rewles of his Grammer broke, with the examples of his present lesson, vntill the in holer, by him selfe, be hable to fetch out of his Grammer, euerie Rowle, for euerie Example: So, as the Grammer booke he ever in the Scholers hand, and also vsed of him, as a Dictionarie, for cuerie present vse. This is a liuely and perfite waie of teaching of Rewles: where the common waie, vsed in common Scholes, to read the Grammer alone by it selfe, is tedions for the Master, hard for the Scholer, colde and vncumfortable for them bothe.

Let your Scholer be neuer afraide, to aske you any dout, but we discretile the best allurements ye can, to encorage him to the same: lest, his outermoch fearinge of you, drive him to seeke some misorderlie shifte: as, to seeke to be helped by some other booke, or to be prompted by some other Scholer, and so goe aboute to begile you moch, and him selfe mote.

With this waie, of good vnderstanding the mater, plaine construinge, diligent parsinge, dailie translatinge, cherefull admonishinge, and heedefull amendinge of faultes: neuer leauinge behinde iuste praise for well doinge, I would haue the Scholer brought vp withall, till he had red, & translated ouer ye first booke of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good peece of a Comedie of Terence also.

All this while, by mine aduise, the childe shall vse to speake no latine: For, as Cicero saith in like mater, with like wordes, loquendo, male loqui discunt. And, that excellent Latin learned man, G. Budæus, in his Greeke Comsepakyng. mentaries, sore complaineth, that whan he began G. Budæus. to learne the latin tonge, vse of speaking latin at the table, and elsewhere, vnaduisedlie, did bring him to soch an euill choice of wordes, to soch a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the daies of his life afterward, both for redinesse in speaking, and also good iudgement in writinge.

In very deede, if childre were brought vp, in soch a house, or soch a Schole, where the latin tonge were properlie and perfittie spoken, as Tib. and Ca. Gracci were brought vp, in their mother Cornelias house, surelie, than the dailie vse of speaking, were the best and readiest waie, to learne the latin tong. But, now, commonlie, in the best Scholes in England, for wordes, right choice is smallie regarded, true proprietie whollie neglected, confusion is brought in, barbariousnesse is bred vp so in yong wittes, as afterward they be, not onelie marde for speaking, but also corrupted in iudgement: as with moch adoe, or neuer at all, they be brought to right frame againe.

Yet all men couet to have their children speake latin: and so do I verie earnestlie too. We bothe, have one purpose: we agree in desire, we wish one end: but we differ somewhat in order and waie, that leadeth rightlie to that end. Other would have them speake at all adventures: and, so they be speakinge, to speake, the Master careth not, the Scholer knoweth not, what. This is, to seeme, and not to bee: except it be, to be bolde without shame, rashe without skill, full of wordes without witte. I wish to have them speake so, as it may well appeare, that the braine doth governe the tonge, and that reason leadeth

a)

forth the taulke. Socrates doctrine is true in Plato, and well marked, and truely vttered by Horace in Arte Plato. Poetica, that, where so euer knowledge doth accom-Horat. panie the witte, there best vtterance doth alwaies awaite vpon the tonge: For, good vnderstanding must first be bred in the childe, which, being nurished with skill, and Much wrivse of writing (as I will teach more largelie tyng breehereafter) is the onelie waie to bring him to deth ready speakyng. iudgement and readinesse in speakinge: and that in farre shorter time (if he followe constantlie the trade of this litle lesson) than he shall do, by common teachinge of the comon scholes in England.

But, to go forward, as you perceiue, your scholer to goe better and better on awaie, first, with vnderstanding his lesson more quicklie, with parsing more readelie, with translating more spedelie and perfitlie then he was wonte, after, giue him

longer lessons to translate: and withall, begin to teach him,

The secod degree and order in teachyng.

The secod both in nownes, & verbes, what is Proprium, and what is Translatum, what Synonymum, what Diuersum, which be Contraria, and which be most notable Phrases in all his lecture.

As:

| Proprium. | { Rex Sepultus est magnifice. |
|-------------|--|
| Translatum. | Cum illo princip e, Sepulta est & gloria et Salus Reipublicæ. |
| Synonyma. | { Ensis, Gladius. { Laudare, prædicare. |
| Diuersa. | Diligere, Amare. Calere, Exardescere. Inimicus, Hostis. |
| Contraria. | Acerbum & luctuosum bellum. Dulcis & læta Pax. |
| Phrases. | { Dare verba. { abjicere obedientiam. |

Your scholer then, must have the third paper booke: in the which, after he hath done his double translation, let him write, after this sort foure of these forenamed sixe, diligentlie marked out of euerie lesson.

The thyrd paper boke.

Quatuor.

Quatuor.

Quatuor.

Physics

Physics

Physics

Physics

Or else, three, or two, if there be no moe: and if there be none of these at all in some lecture, yet not omitte the order, but write these.

> { Diuersa nulla. Contraria nulla. etc.

This diligent translating, ioyned with this heedefull marking, in the foresaid Epistles, and afterwarde in some plaine Oration of Tullie, as, pro lege Manil: pro Archia Poeta, or in those three ad C. Cas: shall worke soch a right choise of wordes, so streight a framing of sentences, soch a true iudgement, both to write skilfullie, and speake wittlelie, as wise men shall both praise, and maruell at.

If your scholer do misse sometimes, in marking rightlie these foresaid sixe thinges, chide not hastelie: for that shall, both dull his witte, and discorage his diligence: but monish him gentelie: which shall make in teaching. him, both willing to amende, and glad to go

forward in loue and hope of learning.

I have now wished, twise or thrise, this gentle nature, to be in a Scholemaster: And, that I have done so, neither by chance, nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why, in mine opinion, loue is

Loue.

Feare.

fitter then feare, ientlenes better than beating, to bring vp a childe rightlie in learninge.

With the common vse of teaching and beating in common scholes of England, I will not greatlie contend: which if I did, it were but a small grammaticall controuersie, neither belonging to heresie nor

-

treason, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince: although in very deede, in the end, the good or ill bringing vp of children, doth as much serue to the good or ill seruice, of God, our Prince, and our whole countrie, as any one thing doth beside.

I do gladlie agree with all good Scholemasters in these pointes: to haue children brought to good perfitnes in learning: to all honestie in maners: to haue all fautes rightlie amended: to haue euerie vice seuerelie corrected: but for the order and waie that leadeth rightlie to these pointes, we somewhat differ.

For commonlie, many scholemasters, some, as Sharpe I have seen, moe, as I have heard tell, be of so Scholemasters. crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a hard witted scholer, they rather breake him, than bowe him, rather marre him, then mend him. For whan the scholemaster is angrie with some other matter, then will he sonest faul to beate his scholer: and though he him selfe should be punished for his folie, yet must he beate some scholer for his pleasure: though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholer to deserue so. These ye will say, be fond scholemasters, and fewe they be, that be found to be soch. They be fond in deede, but surelie ouermany soch be found euerie where. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great

Nature punished. beaters, do as oft punishe nature, as they do correcte faultes. Yea, many times, the better nature, is sorer punished: For, if one, by quicknes of witte, take his lesson readelie, an other, by hardnes of witte, taketh it not so speedelie: the first is alwaies commended, the other is commonlie punished: whan a wise scholemaster, should rather discretelie consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so moch wey what either of them is able to do now,

Quicke wittes for learnyng. In my studie, but also by experience of life, abrode in the world, that those, which be commonlie the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be olde, were neuer commonlie the quickest of witte, when they were yonge. The causes why, amongest other, which be many, that moue me thus to thinke, be these fewe, which I will recken. Quicke wittes commonlie, be apte to take, vnapte to keepe: soone hote and desirous of this and that: as colde and sone

wery of the same againe: more quicke to enter spedelie, than hable to pearse farre: euen like ouer sharpe tooles, whose edges be verie soone turned. Soch wittes delite them selues in easie and pleasant studies, and neuer passe farre forward in hie and hard sciences. And therfore the quickest wittes commonlie may proue the best Poetes, but not the wisest Orators: readie of tonge to speake boldlie, not deepe of iudgement, either for good counsell or wise writing., Also, wittes, for for maners and life, quicke wittes commonlie, be, in desire, newfangle, in purpose, vnconstant, light to promise any thing, readie to forget euery thing: both benefite and iniurie: and therby neither fast to frend, nor fearefull to foe: inquisitiue of euery trifle, not secret in greatest affaires: bolde, with any person: busie, in euery matter: sothing, soch as be present: nipping any that is absent: of nature also, alwaies,

flattering their betters, enuying their equals, despising their inferiors: and, by quicknes of witte, verie quicke and readie, to

like none so well as them selues.

Moreouer commonlie, men, very quicke of witte, be also, verie light of conditions: and thereby, very readie of disposition, to be caried ouer quicklie, by any light cumpanie, to any riot and vnthriftines when they be yonge: and therfore seldome, either honest of life, or riche in liuing, when they be olde. For, quicke in witte, and light in maners, be, either seldome troubled, or verie sone wery, in carying a verie heuie purse. Quicke wittes also be, in most part of all their doinges, ouerquicke, hastie, rashe, headie, and brainsicke. These two last wordes, Headie, and Brainsicke, be fitte and proper wordes, rising naturallie of the matter, and tearmed aptlie by the condition, of ouer moch quickenes of witte. In yougthe also they be, readie scoffers, privile mockers, and ever over light and mery. In aige, sone testie, very waspishe, and alwaies ouer miserable: and yet fewe of them cum to any great aige, by reason of their misordered life when they were yong: but a great deale fewer of them cum to shewe any great countenance, or beare any great authoritie abrode in the world, but either liue obscurelie, men know not how, or dye obscurelie, me marke not whan. They be like trees, that shewe forth, faire blossoms & broad leaues in spring time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruite in haruest time: and that

onelie soch, as fall, and rotte, before they be ripe, and so, neuer, or seldome, cum to any good at all. For this ye shall finde most true by experience, that amongest a number of quicke wittes in youthe, fewe be found, in the end, either verie fortunate for them selues, or verie profitable to serue the common wealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way: except a very fewe, to whom peraduenture blood and happie parentage, may perchance purchace a long standing vpon the stage. The which felicitie, because it commeth by others procuring, not by their owne deseruinge, and stand by other mens feete, and not by their own, what owtward brag so euer is borne by them, is in deed, of it selfe, and in wise mens eyes, of no great estimation.

Some wittes, moderate enough by nature, be many tymes marde by ouer moch studie and vse of some Som sciences hurt sciences, namelie, Musicke, Arithmetick, and mēs wits, Geometrie. Thies sciences, as they sharpen mens and mar wittes ouer moch, so they change mens maners mens maouer sore, if they be not moderatlie mingled, & wiselie applied to som good vse of life. Marke all Mathematicall heades, which be onely and wholy bent Mathematicall to those sciences, how solitarie they be theselues, heades. how vnfit to liue with others, & how vnapte to serue in the world. This is not onelie knowen now by common experience, but vttered long before by wise mens Iudgement and sentence. Galene saith, moch Musick marreth Galen. mens maners: and Plato hath a notable place of Plato. the same thing in his bookes de Rep. well marked also, and excellentlie translated by Tullie himself. Of this matter, I wrote once more at large, xx. yeare a go, in my booke of shoting: now I thought but to touch it, to proue, that ouer moch quicknes of witte, either giuen by nature, or sharpened by studie, doth not commonlie bring forth, eyther greatest learning, best maners, or happiest life in the end.

Contrariewise, a witte in youth, that is not ouer dulle, heavie, knottie and lumpishe, but hard, rough, and though somwhat staffishe, as Tullie wisheth otium, quietum, non languidum: and negotium cum labore, non cum periculo, such a witte I say, if it be, at the first well handled by the mother, and rightlie smothed and wrought as it

should, not ouerwhartlie, and against the wood, by the scholemaster, both for learning, and hole course of liuing, proueth alwaies the best. In woode and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be alwaies aptest, for portrature, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for proffit. Hard wittes be hard to receive, but sure to keepe: painefull without werinesse, hedefull without wauering, constant without newfanglenes: bearing heauie thinges, thoughe not lightlie, yet willinglie: entring hard thinges, though not easelie, yet depelie, and so cum to that perfitnes of learning in the ende, that quicke wittes, seeme in hope, but do not in deede, or else verie seldome, Hard wits euer attaine vnto. Also, for maners and life, hard in maners and lyfe. wittes commonlie, ar hardlie caried, either to desire euerie new thing, or else to meruell at euery strange thinge: and therfore they be carefull and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busey in other mens affaires: and so, they becum wise them selves, and also ar counted honest by They be graue, stedfast, silent of tong, secret of hart. Not hastie in making, but constant in keping any promise. Not rashe in vttering, but ware in considering euery matter: and therby, not quicke in speaking, but deepe of iudgement, whether they write, or give counsell in all waightie affaires. And theis be the me, that becum in the end, both most happie for themselues, and alwaise best estemed abrode in the world.

I have bene longer in describing, the nature, the good or ill successe, of the quicke and hard witte, than perchance som will thinke, this place and matter doth require. But The best wittes drimy purpose was hereby, plainlie to vtter, what uen from iniurie is offered to all learninge, & to the common learnyng, welthe also, first, by the fond father in chosing, to other libut chieflie by the lewd scholemaster in beating A childe and driving away the best natures from learning. that is still, silent, constant, and somwhat hard of witte, is either neuer chosen by the father to be made a scholer, or else, when he commeth to the schole, he is smally regarded, little looked vnto, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all thinges, onelie he neuer lacketh beating, nor any word, that may moue him to hate learninge, nor any deed that may drive him from learning, to any other kinde of liuing.

And when this sadde natured, and hard witted child, is bette



Cischam must with "hemself have been have water "hemself The first booke teachyng

Hard wits proue best in euery kynde of life.

Hard wits proue best in euery and becummeth after eyther student of the common lawe, or page in the Court, or seruingman, or bound prentice to a merchant, or to som handiecrafte, he proueth in the ende, wiser, happier and many tymes honester too, than many of theis quick wittes do, by their learninge.

Learning is, both hindred and iniured to, by the ill choice of them, that send yong scholers to the vniuersities. Of whom must nedes cum all oure Diuines, Lawyers, and Physicions.

Thies yong scholers be chosen commonlie, as yong apples be chosen by children, in a faire garden about S.

Iames tyde: a childe will chose a sweeting, because it is presentlie faire and pleasant, and refuse a Runnet, because it is than grene, hard, and sowre, whan the one, if it be eaten, doth breed, both wormes and ill humors: the other if it stand his tyme, be ordered and kepte as it should, is holsom of it self, and helpeth to the good disgestion of other meates: Sweetinges, will receyue wormes, rotte, and dye on the tree, and neuer or seldom common to the gathering for good and lasting store.

For verie greafe of harte I will not applie the similitude: but hereby, is plainlie seen, how learning is robbed of hir best wittes, first by the greate beating, and after by the ill chosing of scholers, to go to the vniuersities. Whereof cummeth partelie, that lewde and spitefull prouerbe, sounding to the greate hurte of learning, and shame of learned men, that, the greatest Clerkes be not the wisest men.

And though I, in all this discourse, seem plainlie to prefer, hard and roughe wittes, before quicke and light wittes, both for learnyng and maners, yet am I not ignorant that som quicknes of witte, is a singuler gifte of God, and so most rare emonges men, and namelie such a witte, as is quicke without lightnes, sharpe without brittlenes, desirous of good thinges without newfanglenes, diligët in painfull thinges without werisomnes, and constant in good will to do all thinges well, as I know was in Syr Iohn Cheke, and is in som, that yet liue, in whome all theis faire qualities of witte ar fullie mette togither.

But it is notable and trewe, that Socrates saith in Plate to his frende Crite. That, that number of men is fewest, which far excede, either in good or ill, in wisdom or folie, but the meane betwixt both, be

the greatest number: which he proueth trewe in diuerse other

thinges: as in greyhoundes, emonges which fewe are found, exceding greate, or exceding litle, exceding swift, or exceding slowe: And therfore, I speaking of quick and hard wittes, I ment, the common number of quicke and hard wittes, emonges the which, for the most parte, the hard witte, proueth manie times, the better learned, wiser and

honester man: and therfore, do I the more lament, that soch wittes commonlie be either kepte from learning, by fond fathers,

or bet from learning by lewde scholemasters.

And speaking thus moche of the wittes of children for learning, the opportunitie of the place, and goodnes of the matter might require to haue here declared the most special notes of a good witte for learning in a childe, after the maner and custume of a good horsman, who is skilfull, to know, and hable to tell others, how by certein sure signes, a man may choise a colte, that is like to proue an other day, excellent for the saddle. And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, yea and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnynge man for their horse, than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For, to the one, they will gladlie giue a stipend of 200. Crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200. shillinges. God, that sitteth in heauen laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should: for he suffereth them, to haue, tame, and well ordered horse, but wilde and vnfortunate Children: and therfore in the ende they finde more pleasure in their horse, than comforte in their children.

But concerning the trewe notes of the best wittes for learning in a childe, I will reporte, not myne own opinion, but the very judgement of him, that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is Socrates in Plato, who expresseth orderlie thies seuen plaine notes to choise a good witte in a child for learninge.

Verie good, or verie ill men, be fewest in number.

Horsemen be wiser in knowledge of a good Colte, than scholemasters be, in knowledge of a good witte.

A good Rider better rewarded thā a good Scholemaster.

Horse well broken, children ill taught.

Plate in 7. de Rep.

The first booke teachyng

ι Εὐφυής. 2 Μνήμων. 3 Φιλομαθής. Trewe notes of a 4 Φιλόπονος. good witte. 5 Φιλήκοος.

And bicause I write English, and to Englishemen, I will plainlie declare in Englishe both, what thies wordes of Plato meane, and how aptlie they be linked, and how orderlie they folow one an other.

Εὐφυής.

194

Is he, that is apte by goodnes of witte, and appliable by readines of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the minde and partes of the bodie, that must an other day serue learning, not trobled, magled, and halfed, but sounde, whole, full, & hable to do their office: as, a tong, not stamering, or ouer hardlie drawing forth wordes, but plaine, and redie to deliuer the meaning of the minde: a voice, not

The tong. The voice.

Face. Stature. softe, weake, piping, womannishe, but audible, stronge, and manlike: a countenance, not werishe and crabbed, but faire and cumlie: a personage, not wretched and deformed, but taule and goodlie: for surelie, a cumlie countenance, with a goodlie stature, geueth credit to learning, and authoritie to the person: otherwise commonlie, either, open

contempte, or privile disfauour doth hurte, or

Learnyng ioyned with a cumlie personage.

hinder, both person and learning. And, euen as a faire stone requireth to be sette in the finest gold, with the best workmanshyp, or else it leseth moch of the Grace and price, euen so, excellencye in learning, and namely Diuinitie, ioyned with a cumlie personage, is a meruelous Iewell in the world. And how can a cumlie bodie be better employed, than to serue the fairest exercise of Goddes greatest gifte, and that is learning. But commonlie, the fairest bodies, ar bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so: and with examples herein I will not medle: yet I wishe, that those shold, both mynde it, & medle with it, which haue most occasion to looke to it, as good and wise fathers shold do, and greatest authoritie to amend it, as good & wise magistrates ought to do: And yet I will not let, openlie to lament the vnfortunate case of learning herein.

For, if a father haue foure sonnes, three faire and well formed both mynde and bodie, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shalbe, to put the worst to learning, as one good enoughe to becum a scholer. I haue spent the most parte of my life in the V niuersitie, and therfore I can beare good witnes that many fathers commonlie do thus: wherof, I haue hard many wise, learned, and as good men as euer I knew, make great, and oft complainte: a good horseman will choise no soch colte, neither for his own, nor yet for his masters sadle. And thus moch of the first note.

2 Μνήμων.

Good of memorie, a speciall parte of the first note evolvis, in Crital and a mere benefite of nature: yet it is so necessarie for learning, as Plato maketh it a separate and perfite note of it selfe, and that so principall a note, as without it, all other giftes of nature do small service to learning. Afranius, that olde Latine Poete maketh Memorie the mother of learning and wisedome, saying thus.

Memorie de viduo first note evolvis, it is so memorie.

Memorie.

Memorie.

Memorie.

Memorie.

Memorie.

Memorie.

Memorie.

Aul. Gel.

Vsus me genuit, Mater peperit memoria, and though it be the mere gifte of nature, yet is memorie well preserved by vse, and moch encreased by order, as our scholer must learne an other day in the Vniuersitie: but in a childe, a good memorie is well known, by three properties: that is, if it be, quicke in receyuing, sure in keping, and redie in delivering forthe againe.

3 Φιλομαθής.

Giuen to loue learning: for though a child haue all the giftes of nature at wishe, and perfection of memorie at wil, yet if he haue not a special loue to learning, he shall neuer attaine to moch learning. And therfore *Isocrates*, one of the noblest

love.

٠,,

scholemasters, that is in memorie of learning, who taught Kinges and Princes, as Halicarnassæus writeth, and out of whose schole, as Tullie saith, came forth, mo noble Capitanes, mo wise Councelors, than did out of Epeius horse at Troie. This Isocrates, I say, did cause to be writte, at the entrie of his schole, in golden letters, this golden sentence, $\epsilon \hat{a} \nu \eta_s \phi i \lambda o \mu a \theta \eta_s$, $\epsilon \sigma \eta \pi o \lambda \nu \mu a \theta \eta_s$ which excellentlie said in Greeke, is thus rudelie in Englishe, if thou louest learning, thou shalt attayne to moch learning.

4. Φιλόπονος.

york work aniina

Is he, that hath a lust to labor, and a will to take paines. For, if a childe haue all the benefites of nature, with perfection of memorie, loue, like, & praise learning neuer so moch, yet if he be not of him selfe painfull, he shall neuer attayne vnto it. And yet where loue is present, labor is seldom absent, and namelie in studie of learning, and matters of the mynde: and therfore did Isocrates rightlie iudge, that if his scholer were φιλομαθής he cared for no more. Aristotle, variing from Isocrates in private affaires of life, but agreing with Isocrates in common judgement of learning, for loue and labor in learning, is of the same opinio, vttered in these wordes, in his Rhetorike ad Theodecten. Libertie kindleth loue: Loue 2 Rhet. ad refuseth no labor: and labor obteyneth what so Theod. euer it seeketh. And yet neuerthelesse, Goodnes of nature may do little good: Perfection of memorie, may serue to small vse: All loue may be employed in vayne: Any labor may be sone graualed, if a man trust alwaies to his own singuler witte, and will not be glad somtyme to heare, take aduise, and learne of an other: And therfore doth Socrates very notablie adde the fifte note.

5. Φιλήκοος.

tollen,

He, that is glad to heare and learne of an other. For otherwise, he shall sticke with great troble, where he might go easelie forwarde: and also catche hardlie a verie litle by his owne toyle, whan he might gather quicklie a good deale, by an nothers mans teaching. But now there be some, that haue great loue to learning, good lust to labor, be willing to learne of others, yet, either of a fonde shamefastnes, or else of a proud

folie, they dare not, or will not, go to learne of an nother: And therfore doth *Socrates* wiselie adde the sixte note of a good witte in a childe for learning, and that is.

6. Ζητητικός.

He, that is naturallie bold to aske any question, desirous to curice searche out any doute, not ashamed to learne of the meanest, not affraide to go to the greatest, vntill he be perfitelie taught, and fullie satisfiede. The seuenth and last poynte is.

7. Φιλέπαινος.

He, that loueth to be praised for well doing, at his father, or masters hand. A childe of this nature, will earnestlie loue learnyng, gladlie labor for learning, willinglie learne of other, boldlie aske any doute. And thus, by Socrates iudgement, a good father, and a wise scholemaster, shold chose a childe to make a scholer of, that hath by nature, the foresayd perfite qualities, and cumlie furniture, both of mynde and bodie: hath memorie, quicke to receyue, sure to keape, and readie to deliuer: hath loue to learning: hath lust to labor: hath desire to learne of others: hath boldnes to aske any questio: hath mynde holie bent, to wynne praise by well doing.

The two firste poyntes be speciall benefites of nature: which neuerthelesse, be well preserued, and moch encreased by good order. But as for the fiue laste, loue, labor, gladnes to learne of others, boldnes to aske doutes, and will to wynne praise, be wonne and maintened by the onelie wisedome and discretio of the scholemaster. Which fiue poyntes, whether a scholemaster shall worke soner in a childe, by fearefull beating, or curtese handling, you that be wise, judge.

Yet some men, wise in deede, but in this matter, more by seucritie of nature, that any wisdome at all, do laugh at vs, when we thus wishe and reason, that yong children should rather be allured to learning by ientilnes and loue, than compelled to learning, by beating and feare: They say, our reasons serue onelie to breede forth talke, and passe a waie tyme, but we neuer saw good scholemaster do so, nor neuer red of wise man that thought so.

Yes forsothe: as wise as they be, either in other mens opinion, or in their owne conceite, I will bring the contrarie

desi fou prai iudgement of him, who, they them selues shall confesse, was as wise as they are, or else they may be justlie thought to haue small witte at all: and that is Socrates, whose iudgement in Plate is plainlie this in these wordes: which, Plate in 7. bicause they be verie notable, I will recite them de Rep. in his owne tong, οὐδὲν μάθημα μετὰ δουλείας χρη μανθάνειν: οί μεν γαρ του σώματος πόνοι βία πονούμενοι χειρον ουδεν το σωμα απεργάζονται; ψυχή δε, βίαιον ουδεν έμμονον μάθημα: in Englishe thus, No learning ought to be learned with bondage: For, bodelie labors, wrought by compulsion, hurt not the bodie: but any learning learned by copulsion, tarieth not log in the mynde: And why? For what soeuer the mynde doth learne vnwillinglie with feare, the same it doth quicklie forget without care. And lest proude wittes, that loue not to be contraryed, but haue lust to wrangle or trifle away troth, will say, that Socrates meaneth not this of childrens teaching, but of som other higher learnyng, heare, what Socrates in the same place doth more plainlie say: μη τοίνυν βία, ω ἄριστε, τοὺς παιδας ἐν τοις μαθήμασιν, ἀλλά παίζοντας τρέφε, that is to say, and therfore, my deare frend, bring not vp your children in learning by compulsion and feare, but by playing and pleasure. And you, that do read *Plato*, as ye shold, do well perceiue, that these be no The right Questions asked by Socrates, as doutes, but they readyng of Plato. be Sentences, first affirmed by Socrates, as mere trothes, and after, given forth by Socrates, as right Rules, most necessarie to be marked, and fitte to be followed of all them, that would have children taughte, as they should. And in this counsell, iudgement, and authoritie of Socrates I will repose my selfe, vntill I meete with a man of the contrarie mynde, whom I may justlie take to be wiser, than I thinke Socrates

Yong Ientlemen, be wiselier taught to ryde, by comon ryders, than to learne, by common Scholemasters.

was. Fonde scholemasters, neither can vnderstand, nor will folow this good counsell of Socrates, but wise ryders, in their office, can and will do both: which is the onelie cause, that comonly, the yong ientlemen of England, go so vnwillinglie to schole, and run so fast to the stable: For in verie deede fond scholemasters, by feare, do beate into the, the hatred of learning, and wise riders, by ientle allurements, do breed vp in them, the loue of riding. They finde feare, & bondage in scholes, They feele libertie and freedome in stables: which causeth them, vtterlie to abhore the one, and most gladlie to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade yong ientlemen from the other: yea I am sorie, with all my harte, that they be given no more to riding, then they be: For, of all outward qualities, to ride faire, is most cumelie for him selfe, most necessarie for his contrey, and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth excede all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises, amongest the noble ientlemen the old *Percians*, Alwaise to say troth, to ride faire, and shote well: and so it was engrauen vpon *Darius* tumbe, as *Strabo* beareth witnesse.

Darius the king, lieth buried here, Who in riding and shoting had neuer peare.

But, to our purpose, yong men, by any meanes, leesing the loue of learning, whan by tyme they cum to their owne rule, they carie commonlie, from the schole with them, a perpetuall hatred of their master, and a continual contempt of learning. If ten Ientlemen be asked, why they forget so sone in Court, that which they were learning so long in schole, eight of them, or let me be blamed, will laie the fault on their ill handling, by their scholemasters.

Cuspinian doth report, that, that noble Emperor Maximilian, would lament verie oft, his misfortune herein.

Yet, some will say, that children of nature, loue pastime, and mislike learning: bicause, in their kinde, the one is easie and pleasant, the other hard and werisom: which is an opinion not so trewe, as some men weene: For, the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be yong, as in the order & maner of bringing vp, by them that be old, nor yet in the differece of learnyng and pastime. For, beate a child, if he daunce not well, & cherish him, though he learne not well, ye shall haue him, vnwilling to go to daunce, & glad to go to his booke. Knocke him alwaies, when he draweth his shaft ill, and fauor him againe, though he faut at his booke, ye shall haue hym verie loth to be in the field, and verie willing to be in the schole.

Yea, I saie more, and not of my selfe, but by the iudgemet of those, from whom few wisemen will gladlie dissent, that if euer the nature of man be giuen at any tyme, more than other, to receiue goodnes, it is, in innocencie of yong yeares, before, that experience of euill, haue taken roote in hym. For, the pure cleane witte of a sweete yong babe, is like the newest wax, most hable to receiue the best and fayrest printing: and like a new bright siluer dishe neuer occupied, to receiue and kepe cleane, anie good thyng that is put into it.

And thus, will in children, wiselie wrought withall, maie easelie be won to be verie well willing to in Children | learne. And witte in childre, by nature, namelie memorie, the onelie keie and keper of all learning, is readiest to receive, and surest to kepe anie maner of thing, that is learned in yougth: This, lewde and learned, by common experiece, know to be most trewe. For we remember nothyng so well when we be olde, as those things which we learned when we were yong: And this is not straunge, but common in all natures workes. Euery man sees, Yōg yeares (as I sayd before) new wax is best for printyng: aptest for learnyng. new claie, fittest for working: new shorne woll, aptest for sone and surest dying: new fresh flesh, for good and durable salting. And this similitude is not rude, nor borowed of the larder house, but out of his scholehouse, of whom, the wisest of England, neede not be ashamed to learne. Yong Graftes grow not onelie sonest, but also fairest, and bring alwayes forth the best and sweetest frute: yong whelpes learne easelie to carie: yong Popingeis learne quicklie to speake: And so, to be short, if in all other thinges, though they lacke reason, sens, and life, the similitude of youth is fittest to all goodnesse, surelie nature, in mankinde, is most beneficiall and effectuall in this behalfe.

Therfore, if to the goodnes of nature, be ioyned the wisedome of the teacher, in leading yong wittes into a right and plaine waie of learnyng, surelie, children, kept vp in Gods feare, and gouerned by his grace, maie most easelie be brought well to serue God and contrey both by vertue and wisedome.

But if will, and witte, by farder age, be once allured fro innocencie, delited in vaine sightes, filed with foull taulke, crooked with wilfulnesse, hardned with stubburnesse, and let louse to disobedience, surelie it is hard with ientlenesse, but vnpossible with seuere crueltie, to call them backe to good frame againe. For, where the one, perchance maie bend it, the other shall surelie breake it: and so in stead of some hope, leaue an assured desperation, and shamelesse contempt of all goodnesse, the fardest pointe in all ripad. The mischief, as Xenophon doth most trewlie and most

wittelie marke.

Therfore, to loue or to hate, to like or contemne, to plie this waie or that waie to good or to bad, ye shall haue as ye vse

a child in his youth.

And one example, whether loue or feare doth worke more in a child, for vertue and learning, I will gladlie report: which maie be hard with some pleasure, and folowed with more profit. Before I went into Germanie, I came to Brodegate in Lecetershire, to take my leaue of that noble Ladie Iane Grey, to whom I was exceding moch beholdinge.

Lady Iane Grey.

Hir parentes, the Duke and Duches, with all the houshould, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were huntinge in the Parke: I founde her, in her Chamber, readinge Phædon Platonis in Greeke and these with so meab delite as some integers under the said of the sa

houshould, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were huntinge in the Parke: I founde her, in her Chamber, readinge Phædon Platonis in Greeke, and that with as moch delite, as som ientleman wold read a merie tale in Bocase. After salutation, and dewtie done, with som other taulke, I asked hir, whie she wold leese soch pastime in the Parke? smiling she answered me: I wisse, all their sporte in the Parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure, that I find in Plato: Alas good folke, they neuer felt, what trewe pleasure ment. And howe came you Madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure, and what did chieflie allure you vnto it: seinge, not many women, but verie fewe men haue atteined thereunto. I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a troth, which perchance ye will meruell at. One of the greatest benefites, that euer God gaue me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and seuere Parentes, and so ientle a scholemaster. For whe I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowyng, plaiyng, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, euen so perfitelie, as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which

I will not name, for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my selfe in hell, till tyme cum, that I must go to M. Elmer, who teacheth me so ientlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire allurementes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing, whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because, what soeuer I do els, but learning, is ful of grief, trouble, feare, and whole misliking vnto me: And thus my booke, hath bene so moch my pleasure, & bringeth dayly to me more pleasure & more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deede, be but trifles and troubles vnto me. I remember this talke gladly, both bicause it is so worthy of memorie, & bicause also, it was the last talke that euer I had, and the last tyme, that euer I saw that noble and worthie Ladie.

I could be ouer long, both in shewinge iust causes, and in recitinge trewe examples, why learning shold be taught, rather by loue than feare. He that wold see a perfite discourse of it, let him read that learned treatese, which my frende de Inst.

Sturmius

Ioan. Sturmius wrote de institutione Principis, to the Duke of Cleues.

The godlie counsels of Salomon and Iesus the sonne of Qui parcit virge, odit filiū. Sirach, for sharpe kepinge in, and bridleinge of youth, are ment rather, for fatherlie correction, then masterlie beating, rather for maners, than for learninge: for other places, than for scholes. For God forbid, but all euill touches, wantonnes, lyinge, pickinge, slouthe, will, stubburnnesse, and disobedience, shold be with sharpe chastisemet, daily cut away.

This discipline was well knowen, and diligentlie vsed, among the Græcians, and old Romanes, as doth appeare in Aristophanes, Isocrates, and Plato, and also in the Comedies of Plautus: where we see that children were vnder the rule of three persones: Præceptore, Pædagogo, Parente: the scholemaster taught him learnyng with all ientlenes: the Gouernour corrected his maners, with moch sharpenesse: The father, held the sterne of his whole obedience: And so, he that vsed to teache, did not commōlie vse to beate, but remitted that ouer to an other mans charge. But what shall we saie, whan

now in our dayes, the scholemaster is vsed, both for Praceptor

in learnyng, and Pædagogus in maners. Surelie, I wold he shold not cofound their offices, but discretelie vse the dewtie of both so, that neither ill touches shold be left vnpunished, nor ientlesse in teaching anie wise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wiselie he do appointe diuersitie of tyme, & separate place, for either purpose: vsing alwaise soch discrete moderation, as the scholehouse should be counted a sanctuarie against feare: and verie well learning, a common perdon for ill doing, if the fault, of it selfe be not ouer heinous.

And thus the children, kept vp in Gods feare, and preserued by his grace, finding paine in ill doing, and pleasure in well studiyng, shold easelie be brought to honestie of life, and perfitenes of learning, the onelie marke, that good and wise fathers do wishe and labour, that their children, shold most buselie, and carefullie shot at.

There is an other discommoditie, besides crueltie in scholemasters in beating away the loue of learning from Youth of childre, which hindreth learning and vertue, and England good bringing vp of youth, and namelie yong

ientlemen, verie moch in England. This fault is cleane contrary to the first. I wished before, to haue loue of learning bred vp in children:

I wishe as moch now, to have yong men brought vp in good order of liuing, and in some more seuere discipline, the commonlie they be. We have lacke in England of soch good order, as the old noble *Persians* so carefullie vsed: Xen. 7.

whose children, to the age of xxi. yeare, were brought vp in learnyng, and exercises of labor,

and that in soch place, where they should, neither see that was vncumlie, nor heare that was vnhonest. Yea, a yong ientlemä was neuer free, to go where he would, and do what he liste him self, but vnder the kepe, and by the counsell, of some graue gouernour, vntill he was, either maryed, or cald to beare some office in the common wealth.

And see the great obedience, that was vsed in old tyme to fathers and gouernours. No sonne, were he neuer so old of yeares, neuer so great of birth, though he were a kynges sonne, might not mary, but by his father and mothers also consent. Cyrus the great, after he had conquered Babylon, and subdewed

brought vp with to much libertie.

Cyri Ped.

thies matters.

Riche king Cræsus with whole Asia minor, cummyng tryumphantlie home, his vncle Cyaxeris offered him his daughter to wife. Cyrus thanked his vncle, and praised the maide, but for mariage he answered him with thies wise and sweete wordes, as they be vttered by Xenophon, ω κυαξάρη, τό τε γένος ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν παῖδα, καὶ δῶρα βούλομαι δέ, ἔφη, σὺν τῆ τοῦ πατρὸς γνωμη καὶ [τῆ] τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συναινέσαι, &c., that is to say: Vncle Cyaxeris, I commend the stocke, I like the maide, and I allow well the dowrie, but (sayth he) by the counsell and consent of my father and mother, I will determine farther of

Strong Samson also in Scripture saw a maide that liked him, but he spake not to hir, but went home to his father, and his mother, and desired both father and mother to make the mariage for him. Doth this modestie, doth this obedience, that was in great kyng Cyrus, and stoute Samson, remaine in our yongmen at this daie? no surelie: For we liue not longer after them by tyme, than we liue farre different from them by good order. Our tyme is so farre from that old discipline and obedience, as now, not onelie yong ientlemen, but euen verie girles dare without all feare, though not without open shame, where they list, and how they list, marie them selues in spite of father, mother, God, good order, and all. The cause of this euill is, that youth is least looked vnto, when they stand [in] most neede of good kepe and regard. It auaileth not, to see them well taught in yong yeares, and after wha they cum to lust and youthfull dayes, to give them licence to liue as they lust them selues. For, if ye suffer the eye of a yong Ientleman, once to be entangled with vaine sightes, and the care to be corrupted with fond or filthie taulke, the mynde shall quicklie fall seick, and sone vomet and cast vp, all the holesome doctrine, that he received in childhoode, though he were neuer so well brought vp before. And being ons inglutted with vanitie, he will streight way loth all learning, and all good counsell to the same. And the parentes for all their great cost and charge, reape onelie in the end, the frute Great mēs

sonnes worst brought vp.

of grief and care.

This euill, is not common to poore men, as God will haue it, but proper to riche and great mens

children, as they deserue it. In deede from seuen, to seuentene, yong ientlemen commonlie be carefullie enough brought vp: But from seuentene to seuen and twentie (the most dangerous tyme of all a mans life, and most slipperie to stay well in) they have commonlie the reigne of all licens in their owne Wise men hand, and speciallie soch as do liue in the Court. fond fathers. And that which is most to be merueled at, commonlie, the wisest and also best men, be found the fondest fathers in this behalfe. And if som good father wold seick some remedie herein, yet the mother (if the house hold of our Lady) had rather, yea, & will to, haue her sonne cunnyng & bold, in making him to lyue trimlie when he is yong, than by learning and trauell, to be able to serue his Prince and his contrie, both wiselie in peace, and stoutelie in warre, whan he is old.

The fault is in your selues, ye noble mens sonnes, and therefore ye deserue the greater blame, that commonlie, the meaner mens children, cum to be, the wisest councellours, and greatest doers, in the weightie affaires of this Realme. And why? for God will have it so, of his providence:

mēs sonnes come to great authoritie.

bicause ye will haue it no otherwise, by your negligence.

And God is a good God, & wisest in all his doinges, that will place vertue, & displace vice, in those Nobilitie kingdomes, where he doth gouerne. For he without wisedome. knoweth, that Nobilitie, without vertue and wisedome, is bloud in deede, but bloud trewelie, without bones & sinewes: & so of it selfe, without the other, verie weeke to beare the burden of weightie affaires.

The greatest shippe in deede commonlie carieth the greatest burden, but yet alwayes with the greatest ieoperdie, not onelie for the persons and goodes committed vnto it, Nobilitie but euen for the shyppe it selfe, except it be with wisegouerned, with the greater wisdome.

But Nobilitie, gouerned by learning and wisedome, is

in deede, most like a faire shippe, hauving tide and winde at will, vinder the reule of a skilfull master: whan contrarie wise, a shippe, caried, yea with the hiest tide & greatest winde,

Wisedom. Nobilite with

Out wise-

lacking a skilfull master, most commonlie, doth either, sinck it selfe vpō sandes, or breake it selfe vpon rockes. And euen so,

Vaine pleasure, and stoute wilfulnes, two greatest enemies to Nobilitie.

how manie haue bene, either drowned in vaine pleasure, or ouerwhelmed by stout wilfulnesse, the histories of England be able to affourde ouer many examples vnto vs. Therfore, ye great and noble mens children, if ye will haue rightfullie that praise, and enioie surelie that place, which your fathers haue, and elders had, and left vnto

you, ye must kepe it, as they gat it, and that is, by the onelie

waie, of vertue, wisedome, and worthinesse.

For wisedom, and vertue, there be manie faire examples in this Court, for yong Ientlemen to folow. But they be, like faire markes in the feild, out of a mans reach, to far of, to shote at well. The best and worthiest men, in deede, be somtimes seen, but seldom taulked withall: A yong Ientleman, may somtime knele to their person, smallie vse their companie, for their better instruction.

But yong Ientlemen ar faine commonlie to do in the Court, as yong Archers do in the feild: that is take soch markes, as be

Ill companie them, although they be neuer so foule to shote at. I meene, they be driuen to kepe youth companie with the worste: and what force ill companie hath, to corrupt good wittes, the wisest men know best.

And not ill companie onelie, but the ill opinion also of the most part, doth moch harme, and namelie of those, which shold be wise in the trewe decyphring, of the good disposition of nature, of cumlinesse in Courtlie maners, and all right doinges of men.

But error and phantasie, do commonlie occupie, the place of troth and iudgement. For, if a yong ientleman, be demeure and still of nature, they say, he is simple and lacketh witte: if he be bashefull, and will soone blushe, they call him a babishe

Xen. in 1. Cyr. Pæd.

The Grace in Courte.

and ill brought vp thyng, when *Xenophon* doth preciselie note in *Cyrus*, that his bashfulnes in youth, was ye verie trewe signe of his vertue & stoutnes after: If he be innocent and ignorant of ill, they say, he is rude, and hath no grace, so

vngraciouslie do som gracelesse men, misuse the faire and godlie word GRACE.

But if ye would know, what grace they meene, go, and looke, and learne emonges them, and ye shall see that it is: First, to blush at nothing. And blushyng in youth, sayth Aristotle is nothyng els, but feare to do ill: which feare beyng once lustely fraid away from youth, the foloweth, to dare do any mischief, to côtemne stoutly any goodnesse, to be busie in euery matter, to be skilfull in euery thyng, to acknowledge no ignorance at all. To do thus in Court, is couted of some, the chief and greatest grace of all: and termed by the name of a vertue, called Corage & boldnesse, whan Crassus in Cicero teacheth the cleane contrarie, and that most wittelie, saying thus: Audere, cum bonis etiam rebus coniunctum, per seipsum est magnopere fugiendum. Which is to say, to be bold, yea

in a good matter, is for it self, greatlie to be

will, to heare him selfe speake: To be seene

Cic. 3. de

Grace of

Courte.

Boldnes vea in a good matter, not to be praised.

exchewed. Moreouer, where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawne, flatter, laugh and lie lustelie at other mens liking. More To face, stand formest, shoue backe: and to the Grace of Courte. meaner man, or vnknowne in the Court, to seeme somwhat solume, coye, big, and dangerous of looke, taulk, and answere: To thinke well of him selfe, to be lustic in contemning of others, to have some trim grace in a privile And in greater presens, to beare a braue looke: to be mock. warlike, though he neuer looked enimie in the face in warre: yet som warlike signe must be vsed, either a slouinglie busking, or an ouerstaring frounced hed, as though out of euerie heeres toppe, should suddenlie start out a good big othe, when nede requireth, yet praised be God, England hath at this time, manie worthie Capitaines and good warre, best souldiours, which be in deede, so honest of of conditibehauiour, so cumlie of conditions, so milde of maners, as they may be examples of good order, to a good sort of others, which neuer came in warre. But to retorne, where I left: In place also, to be able to raise taulke, and make discourse of euerie rishe: to haue a verie good Palmistrie.

in Palmestrie, wherby to conucie to chast eares, som fond or filthie taulke:

And, if som Smithfeild Ruffian take vp, som strange going: som new mowing with the mouth: som wrinchyng with the shoulder, som braue prouerbe: som fresh new othe, that is not stale, but will rin round in the mouth: som new disguised garment, or desperate hat, fond in facion, or gaurish in colour, what soeuer it cost, how small soeuer his liuing be, by what shift soeuer it be gotten, gotten must it be, and vsed with the first, or els the grace of it, is stale and gone: som part of this gracelesse grace, was discribed by me, in a little rude verse long ago.

> To laughe, to lie, to flatter, to face: Foure waies in Court to win men grace. If thou be thrall to none of thiese, Away good Peek goos, hens Iohn Cheese: Marke well my word, and marke their dede, And thinke this verse part of thy Crede.

Would to God, this taulke were not trewe, and that som mens doinges were not thus: I write not to hurte any, but to proffit som: to accuse none, but to monish Councell. soch, who, allured by ill counsell, and following $\mathbf{I}\mathbf{n}$ ill example, cotrarie to their good bringyng vp, Copany. and against their owne good nature, yeld ouermoch to thies folies and faultes: I know many seruing men, of good order, and well staide: And againe, I heare saie, there be som seruing men do but ill men. Terentius. seruice to their yong masters. Yea, rede Terence Plautus. and Plaut. aduisedlie ouer, and ye shall finde in those two wise writers, almost in euery commedie, no vnthriftie yong man, that is not brought there vnto, Serui corby the sotle inticement of som lewd seruant. ruptelæ iuuenum. And euen now in our dayes Getæ and Daui, Gnatos and manie bold bawdie Phormios to, be preasing in, to pratle on euerie stage, to medle in euerie Multi Gematter, whan honest Parmenos shall not be hard,

but beare small swing with their masters.

companie, their taulke, their ouer great experience

Seruinge

tæ pauci Parmenones.

in mischief, doth easelie corrupt the best natures, and best

brought vp wittes.

But I meruell the lesse, that thies misorders be emonges som in the Court, for commonlie in the contrie also euerie where, innocencie is gone: Bashfulin the counters in the counters is banished: moch presumption in yougthe: small authoritie in aige: Reuerence is neglected: dewties be confounded: and to be shorte, disobedience doth ouerflowe the bankes of good order, almoste in euerie place, almoste in euerie

Meane men haue eies to see, and cause to lament, and occasion to complaine of thies miseries: but other haue authoritie to remedie them, and will do so to, whan God shall think time fitte. For, all thies misorders, be Goddes iuste plages, by his sufferance, brought iustelie vpon vs, for our sinnes, which be infinite in nomber, and horrible in deede, but namelie, for the greate abhominable sin of vn-kindnesse: but what vnkindnesse? euen such of Gods vnkindnesse as was in the Iewes, in contemninge trewe Re-

Goddes voice, in shrinking fro his woorde, in

wishing backe againe for Ægypt, in committing aduoultrie and hordom, not with the women, but with the doctrine of Babylon, did bring all the plages, destructions, and Captiuities, that fell so ofte and horriblie, vpon Israell.

We have cause also in England to beware of vnkindnesse, who have had, in so fewe yeares, the Candel of Goddes worde, so oft lightned, so oft put out, and yet will venture by our vnthankfulnesse in doctrine and sinfull life, to leese againe, lighte, Candle,

Candlesticke and all.

God kepe vs in his feare, God grafte in vs the trewe knowledge of his woorde, with a forward will to folowe it, and so to bring forth the sweete fruites of it, & then shall he preserue vs by his Grace, from all maner of terrible dayes.

The remedie of this, doth not stand onelie, in making good common lawes for the hole Realme, but also, (and perchance cheislie) in obseruing private discipline euerie man carefullie in his own house: and namelie, if speciall regard be had to yougth: and that, not so moch,

Publicæ Leges. Domestica disciplina. Cognitio boni.

ligion.

in teaching them what is good, as in keping them from that, that is ill.

Therefore, if wise fathers, be not as well waare in weeding from their Children ill thinges, and ill companie, as they were before, in graftinge in them learninge, and prouiding for them good scholemasters, what frute, they shall reape of all their coste & care, common experience doth tell.

Here is the place, in youghhe is the time whan som ignorance is as necessarie, as moch knowledge,

some ignorance, as good as knowledge.

as som wilful wittes willinglie against their owne knowledge, perniciouslie againste their owne

conscience, haue of late openlie taught. In deede S. Chrysostome, that noble and eloquent Doctor, in a

Fato. sermon contra fatum, and the curious serchinge of natiuities, doth wiselie saie, that ignorance therein,

is better than knowledge: But to wring this sentence, to wreste thereby out of mens handes, the knowledge of Goddes doctrine, is without all reason, against common sence, contrarie to the judgement also of them, which he the discretest men, and

Iulia. Apostat.

To the iudgement also of them, which be the discretest men, and best learned, on their own side. I know, Iulianus Apostata did so, but I neuer hard or red, that any auncyent father of the primitive chirch, either

thought or wrote so.

But this ignorance in youghte, which I spake on, or rather this simplicitie, or most trewlie, this innocencie, is that, which the noble Persians, as wise Xenophon doth testifie, were so carefull, to breede vp their yough in. But Christian fathers commonlie do not so. And I will tell you a tale, as moch to be misliked, as the Persians

example is to be followed.

This last somer, I was in a Ientlemans house: where A childe ill brought cold in no wise frame his tonge, to saie, a litle shorte grace: and yet he could roundlie rap out, so manie vgle othes, and those of the newest facion, as som good man of fourescore yeare olde hath neuer hard named before: and that which was most detestable of all, his father and mother wold laughe at it. I

moche doubte, what comforte, an other daie, this childe shall bring vnto them. This Childe vsing moche the companie of seruinge men, and geuing good eare to their taulke, did easelie learne, which he shall hardlie forget, all daies of his life hereafter: So likewise, in the Courte, if a yong Ientleman will ventur him self into the companie of Ruffians, it is ouer greate a ieopardie, lest, their facions, maners, thoughtes, taulke, and deedes, will verie sone, be euer like. The confounding of companies, breedeth confusion of good maners Ill compaboth in the Courte, and euerie where else.

And it maie be a great wonder, but a greater shame, to vs. Christian men, to vnderstand, what a heithen writer, Isocrates, doth leaue in memorie of writing, concerning the care, that the noble Citie of Athens had, to bring vp their youghte, in honest companie, and vertuous discipline, whose taulke in Greke, is, to this effect, in Englishe.

"The Citie, was not more carefull, to see their Children

"well taughte, than to see their yong men well In Orat. "gouerned: which they brought to passe, not so Ariopag. "much by common lawe, as by private discipline. "For, they had more regard, that their yougthe, by good order "shold not offend, than how, by lawe, they might be punished: "And if offense were committed, there was, neither waie to "hide it, neither hope of pardon for it. Good natures, were "not so moche openlie praised as they were secretlie marked, "and watchfullie regarded, lest they should lease the goodnes "they had. Therefore in scholes of singing and dauncing, and "other honest exercises, gouernours were appointed, more "diligent to ouersee their good maners, than their masters were, "to teach them anie learning. It was som shame to a yong "man, to be seene in the open market: and if for businesse, he "passed throughe it, he did it, with a meruelous modestie, and "bashefull facion. To eate, or drinke in a Tauerne, was not "onelie a shame, but also punishable, in a yong man. To "contrarie, or to stand in termes with an old man, was more "heinous, than in som place, to rebuke and scolde with his

"owne father: with manie other mo good orders, and faire disciplines, which I referre to their reading, that haue lust to looke vpon the description of such a worthie common

welthe.

The first booke teachyng

212

And to know, what worthie frute, did spring of soch worthie seade, I will tell yow the most meruell of all, and yet soch a trothe, as no man shall denie it, except such as be ignorant in knowledge of the best stories.

Athens, by this discipline and good ordering of youghte, did breede vp, within the circute of that one Citie, within the compas of one hondred yeare, within the memorie of one mans life, so manie notable Capitaines in warre, for worthinesse, wisdome and learning, as be scarse matchable no not in the state of Rome, in the compas of those seauen hondred yeares, whan it florished moste.

And bicause, I will not onelie saie it, but also proue it, the The noble Capitaines of Athens.

Conon, Iphicrates, Xenophon, Timotheus, Theopompus, Demetrius, and divers other mo: of which everie one, maie iustelie be spoken that worthie praise, which was geven to Scipio Africanus, who, Cicero douteth, whether he were, more noble Capitaine in warre, or more eloquent and wise councelor

in peace. And if ye beleue not me, read dili
Emil.

Probus.

Probus.

Plutarchus.

In Greke, which two, had no cause either to flatter or lie vpon anic of those which I haue recited.

And beside nobilitie in warre, for excellent and matchles masters in all maner of learninge, in that one The lear-Citie, in memorie of one aige, were mo learned ned of Athenes. men, and that in a maner altogether, than all tyme doth remember, than all place doth affourde, than all other tonges do conteine. And I do not meene of those Authors, which, by iniurie of tyme, by negligence of men, by crueltie of fier and sworde, be lost, but even of those, which by Goddes grace, are left yet vnto us: of which I thank God, euen my poore studie lacketh not one. As, in Philosophie, Plate, Aristotle, Xenophon, Euclide and Theophrast: In eloquens and Ciuill lawe, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, Isocrates, Isaus, Lysias, Antisthenes, Andocides: In histories, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon: and which we lacke, to our

great losse, Theopompus and Eph[orus]: In Poetrie, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and somwhat of Menander, Demosthenes sister sonne.

Now, let Italian, and Latin it self, Spanishe, French, Douch, and Englishe bring forth their lerning, and recite their Authors, Cicero onelie excepted, and one or two moe in Latin, they be all patched cloutes and ragges, in comparison of faire wouen broade clothes. And trewelie, if there be any good in them, it is either lerned, borowed, or stolne, from some one of those worthie wittes of Athens.

Learnyng, chiefly conteined in the Greke, and in no other tong.

The remembrance of soch a common welthe, vsing soch discipline and order for youghte, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leauing to vs for our example, such Capitaines for warre, soch Councelors for peace, and matcheles masters, for all kinde of learninge, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksum, I trust, for other to heare, except it be soch, as make neither counte of vertue nor learninge.

And whether, there be anie soch or no, I can not well tell: yet I heare saie, some yong Ientlemen of oures, Contemcount it their shame to be counted learned: and ners of learnyng. perchance, they count it their shame, to be counted honest also, for I heare saie, they medle as litle with the one, as with the other. A meruelous case, that Ientlemen shold so be ashamed of good learning, and neuer a whit ashamed of ill maners: soch do saie for them, that the Ientlemen Ientlemen of France do so: which is a lie, as of France. God will haue it. Langaus, and Bellaus that be dead, & the noble Vidam of Chartres, that is aliue, and infinite mo in France, which I heare tell of, proue this to be most false. And though som, in France, which will nedes be Ientlemen, whether men will or no, and haue more ientleshipe in their hat, than in their hed, be at deedlie feude, with both learning and honestie, yet I beleue, if that noble Prince, king Francis the first were aliue, they shold haue, neither place in Franciscus his Courte, nor pension in his warres, if he had 1. Nobilis. Francorū knowledge of them. This opinion is not French, but plaine Turckishe: from whens, some Frenche fetche moe faultes, than this: which, I praie God, kepe out of England, and send also those of oures better mindes, which bend them selues againste vertue and learninge, to the contempte of God, dishonor of their contrie to the hurt of manie others, and at length, to the greatest harme, and vtter destruction of themselues.

Som other, hauing better nature, but lesse witte, (for ill commonlie, haue ouer moch witte) do not vtterlie dispraise learning, but they saie, that without learning, without common experience, knowledge of all facions, and haunting all companies, shall worke in yougthe, both wisdome, and habilitie, to execute anie weightie affaire. Surelie long experience doth proffet moch, but moste, and almost onelie to him (if we meene honest affaires) that is diligentlie before instructed with preceptes of well doinge. For good precepts of learning, be the eyes of the minde, to looke wiselie before a man, which waie to go right, and which not.

Learning teacheth more in one yeare than experience in twentie: And learning teacheth safelie. when Learnyng. experience maketh mo miserable then wise. He Experiēce. hasardeth sore, that waxeth wise by experience. An vnhappie Master he is, that is made cunning by manie shippewrakes: A miserable merchant, that is neither riche or wise, but after som bankroutes. It is costlie wisdom, that is bought by experience. We know by experience it selfe, that it is a meruelous paine, to finde oute but a short waie, by long wandering. And surelie, he that wold proue wise by experience, he maie be wittie in deede, but euen like a swift runner, that runneth fast out of his waie, and vpon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verilie they be fewest of number, that be happie or wise by vnlearned experience. And looke well vpon the former life of those fewe, whether your example be old or yonge, who without learning haue gathered, by long experience, a litle wisdom, and som happines: and whan you do consider, what mischeife they have committed, what dangers they have escaped (and yet xx. for one, do perishe in the aduenture) than thinke well with your selfe, whether ye wold, that your owne son, should cum to wisdom and happines, by the waie of soch experience or no.

It is a notable tale, that old Syr Roger Chamloe, sometime

Erasmus.

Experiēce,

the schole-

Foles, and

house of

ill men.

cheife Iustice, wold tell of him selfe. When he was Auncient in Inne of Courte, Certaine yong Ientlemen Syr Roger were brought before him, to be corrected for Chamloe. certaine misorders: And one of the lustiest saide:

Syr, we be yong ientlemen, and wisemen before vs, haue proued all facions, and yet those haue done full well: this they said, because it was well knowen, that Syr Roger had bene a good feloe in his yougth. But he aunswered them verie wiselie. In deede saith he, in yougthe, I was, as you ar now: and I had twelue feloes like vnto my self, but not one of them came to a good ende. And therfore, follow not my example in yougth, but follow my councell in aige, if euer ye thinke to cum to this place, or to thies yeares, that I am cum vnto, lesse ye meete either with pouertie or Tiburn in the way.

Thus, experience of all facions in yougthe, beinge, in profe, alwaise daungerous, in isshue, seldom lucklie, is Experiēce. a waie, in deede, to ouermoch knowledge, yet vsed commonlie of soch men, which be either caried by som curious affection of mynde, or driven by som hard necessitie of

life, to hasard the triall of ouer manie perilous aduentures.

Erasmus the honor of learning of all oure time, saide wiselie that experience is the common scholehouse of foles, and ill men: Men, of witte and honestie, be otherwise instructed. For there be, that kepe them out of fier, and yet was neuer burned: That beware of water, and yet was neuer nie drowninge: That hate harlottes, and was

neuer at the stewes: That abhorre falshode, and neuer brake promis themselues.

But will ye see, a fit Similitude of this aduentured experience. A Father, that doth let louse his son, to all experiences, is most like a fond Hunter, that letteth slippe a whelpe to the hole herde. Twentie to one, he shall fall vpon a rascall, and let go the faire game. Men that hunt so, be either ignorant persones, preuie stealers, or night walkers.

Learning therefore, ye wise fathers, and good bringing vp, and not blinde & dangerous experience, is the next and readiest waie, that must leede your Children, first, to wisdom, and than to worthinesse, if euer ye purpose they shall cum there.

And to saie all in shorte, though I lacke Authoritie to give

The state of the s

counsell, yet I lacke not good will to wisshe, that the yougthe How expe. in England, speciallie Ientlemen, and namelie nobilitie, shold be by good bringing vp, so grounded in iudgement of learninge, so founded in loue of honestie, as, whan they shold be called forthe to the execution of great affaires, in seruice of their Prince and contrie, they might be hable, to vse and to order, all experiences, were they good were they bad, and that, according to the square, rule, and line, of wisdom learning and vertue.

And, I do not meene, by all this my taulke, that yong Ientlemen, should alwaies be poring on a booke, Diligent and by vsing good studies, shold lease honest learninge ought to be pleasure, and haunt no good pastime, I meene ioyned with nothing lesse: For it is well knowne, that I both pleasant like and loue, and haue alwaies, and do yet still pastimes, namelie in a vse, all exercises and pastimes, that be fitte for my ientleman. nature and habilitie. And beside naturall disposition, in judgement also, I was neuer, either Stoick in doctrine, or Anabaptist in Religion, to mislike a merie, pleasant, and plaifull nature, if no outrage be committed, against lawe,

mesure, and good order.

Therefore, I wold wishe, that, beside some good time, fitlie appointed, and constantlie kepte, to encrease by readinge, the knowledge of the tonges and learning, yong ientlemen shold vse, and delite in all Courtelie exercises, and Learnyng ioyned with Ientlemanlike pastimes. And good cause whie: pastimes. For the self same noble Citie of Athenes, iustlie commended of me before, did wiselie and vpon great consideration, appoint, the Muses, Apollo, and Pallas, to be patrones of learninge to their yougthe. For the Muses, Musa. besides learning, were also Ladies of dauncinge, Apollo. mirthe and ministrelsie: Apollo, was god of shooting, and Author of cunning playing vpo Instrumentes: Pallas. Pallas also was Laidie mistres in warres. Wher-

bie was nothing else ment, but that learninge shold be alwaise mingled, with honest mirthe, and cumlie exercises: and that warre also shold be gouerned by learning, and moderated by wisdom, as did well appeare in those Capitaines of Athenes named by me before, and also in Scipio & Cæsar, the two Diamondes of Rome.

be fitte for Courtlie

Ientlemē.

And Pallas, was no more feared, in weering Ægida, that she was praised, for chosing Oliua: whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus, was Gouernour & Mistres, in the noble Citie of Athenes, both of warre and peace.

Therefore, to ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilte or ring: to plaie at all weapones: to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon: to vaut lustely: to runne: to leape: to wrestle:

The pastomes: To daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe

to swimme: To daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe of instrumentes cunnyngly: to Hawke: to hunte: to playe at tennes, & all pastimes generally, which be ioyned with labor, vsed in open place, and on

the day light, conteining either some fitte exercise for warre, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not onelie cumlie and decent, but also verie necessarie, for a Courtlie Ientleman to vse.

But, of all kinde of pastimes, fitte for a Ientleman, I will, godwilling, in fitter place, more at large, declare fullie, in my booke of the Cockpitte: which I do write, to satisfie som, I trust, with som reason, that be more curious, in marking other mens doinges, than

carefull in mendyng their owne faultes. And som also will nedes busie them selues in merueling, and adding thereunto vnfrendlie taulke, why I, a man of good yeares, and of no ill place, I thanke God and my Prince, do make choise to spend soch tyme in writyng of trifles, as the schole of shoting, the Cockpitte, and this booke of the first Principles of Grammer, rather, than to take some weightie matter in hand, either of Religion, or Ciuill discipline.

Wise men I know, will well allow of my choise herein: and as for such, who haue not witte of them selues, but must learne

of others, to iudge right of mens doynges, let them read that wise Poet Horace in his Arte Poetica, who willeth wisemen to beware, of hie and loftie Titles. For, great shippes, require costlie tackling, and also afterward dangerous gouernment: Small boates, be neither verie chargeable in

A booke of a lofty title, beareth the brag of ouergreat a promise.

makyng, nor verie oft in great ieoperdie: and yet they cary many tymes, as good and costlie ware, as greater vessels do. A meane Argument, may easelie beare, the light burden of a small faute, and haue alwaise at hand, a ready excuse for

The first booke teachyng

The right choise, to chose a fitte Argument to write vpon. Hor. in Arte Poet.

218

ill handling: And, some praise it is, if it so chaunce, to be better in deede, than a man dare venture to seeme. A hye title, doth charge a man, with the heavie burden, of to great a promise: and therefore sayth Horace verie wittelie, that, that Poete was a verie foole, that began hys booke, with a goodlie verse in deede, but ouer proude a promise.

Fortunam Priami cantabo & nobile bellum,

And after, as wiselie.

Quantò rectiùs hic, qui nil molitur ineptè. etc.

Homers wisdom in choice of his Argument.

Meening Homer, who, within the compasse of a smal Argument, of one harlot, and of one good wife, did vtter so moch learning in all kinde of sciences, as, by the judgement of Quintilian, he deserueth so hie a praise, that no man yet deserued to sit in the second degree beneth him. And thus moch

out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending penne, and paper, & tyme, vpo trifles, & namelie to aunswere some, that haue neither witte nor learning, to do any thyng them selues, neither will nor honestie, to say well of other.

To ioyne learning with cumlie exercises, Conto Baldesær

The Cortegian, an excellent booke for a ientleman.

Castiglione in his booke, Cortegiano, doth trimlie teache: which booke, aduisedlie read, and diligentlic followed, but one yeare at home in England, would do a yong ientleman more good, I wisse, then three yeares trauell abrode spent in

And I meruell this booke, is no more read in the Court, than it is, seyng it is so well translated into English by a worthie Ientleman Syr Th. Hobbie, who was many wayes

Syr Tho. well furnished with learning, and very expert in Hobbye. knowledge of divers tonges.

And beside good preceptes in bookes, in all kinde of tonges, this Court also neuer lacked many faire examples, for yong ientlemen to folow: And surelie, one example, Examples better then is more valiable, both to good and ill, than xx. preceptes. preceptes written in bookes: and so Plato, not in one or two, but diverse places, doth plainlie teach.

If kyng Edward had liued a litle longer, his onely example had breed soch a rase of worthie learned ientlemen, King Ed. 6. as this Realme neuer yet did affourde.

And, in the second degree, two noble Primeroses of Nobilitie, the yong Duke of Suffolke, and Lord H. Matreuers, were soch two examples to the Court for learning, as our tyme may rather wishe, than looke for agayne.

The yong Duke of Suffolke. L. H. Martreuers.

Syr Yohn

D. Read-

man.

Ćheke.

At Cambrige also, in S. Iohns Colledge, in my tyme, I do know, that, not so much the good statutes, as two Ientlemen, of worthie memorie Syr Iohn Cheke, and Doctour Readman, by their onely example of excellency in learning, of godlynes in liuyng, of diligecie in studying, of councell in exhorting, of good order in all thyng, did breed vp, so many learned men, in that one College of S. Iohns, at one time, as I beleue, the whole Vniuersitie of Louaine, in many yeares, was neuer able to affourd.

Present examples of this present tyme, I list not to touch: yet there is one example, for all the Ien-Oucene tlemen of this Court to folow, that may well Elisabeth. satisfie them, or nothing will serue them, nor no

example moue them, to goodnes and learning. It is your shame, (I speake to you all, you yong Ientlemen of England) that one may dshould go beyond you all, in excellencie of learnyng, and knowledge of diuers tonges. Pointe forth six of the best given Ientlemen of this Court, and all they together, shew not so much good will, spend not so much tyme, bestow not so many houres, dayly orderly, & constantly, for the increase of learning & knowledge, as doth the Queenes Maiestie Yea I beleue, that beside her perfit readines, in her selfe. Latin, Italian, French, & Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsore more Greeke euery day, than some Prebendarie of this Chirch doth read Latin in a whole weeke. And that which is most praise worthie of all, within the walles of her priuie chamber, she hath obteyned that excellencie of learnyng, to vnderstand, speake, & write, both wittely with head, and faire with hand, as scarse one or two rare wittes in both the Vniuersities haue in many yeares reached vnto. Amongest all the benefites yt God hath blessed me with all, next the knowledge of Christes true Religion, I counte this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me, to be one poore minister in settyng forward these excellent giftes of learnyng in this most excellent Prince. Whose onely example, if the rest of our

Ill Examples haue more force, then good examples.

nobilitie would folow, than might England be, for learnyng and wisedome in nobilitie, a spectacle to all the world beside. But see the mishap of men: The best examples haue neuer such forse to moue to any goodnes, as the bad, vaine, light

and fond, haue to all ilnes.

And one example, though out of the compas of learning, yet not out of the order of good maners, was notable in this Courte, not fullie xxiiij. yeares a go, when all the actes of Parlament, many good Proclamations, diuerse strait commaundementes, sore punishment openlie, speciall regarde priuatelie, cold not do so moch to take away one misorder, as the example of one big one of this Courte did, still to kepe vp the same: The memorie whereof, doth yet remaine, in a common prouerbe of Birching lane.

Take hede therfore, ye great ones in ye Court, yea though ye be ye greatest of all, take hede, what ye do, Great men take hede how ye liue. For as you great ones in Court, vse to do, so all meane men loue to do. by their example, in deed, makers or marrers, of all mens maners make or within the Realme. For though God hath placed marre, all other mens yow, to be cheife in making of lawes, to beare maners. greatest authoritie, to commaund all others: yet God doth order, that all your lawes, all your authoritie, all your

commaundementes, do not halfe so moch with meane men, as
doth your example and maner of liuinge. And
for example euen in the greatest matter, if yow
your selues do serue God gladlie and orderlie for

conscience sake, not coldlie, and somtyme for maner sake, you carie all the Courte with yow, and the whole Realme beside, earnestlie and orderlie to do the same. If yow do otherwise, yow be the onelie authors, of all misorders in Religion, not onelie to the Courte, but to all England beside. Infinite shall be made cold in Religion by your example, that neuer were hurt by reading of bookes.

And in meaner matters, if three or foure great ones in

Courte, will nedes outrage in apparell, in huge hose, in monstrous hattes, in gaurishe colers, let the Prince Pro-Example clame, make Lawes, order, punishe, commaunde euerie gate in London dailie to be watched, let all good men beside do euerie where what they can, surelie the misorder of apparell in mean men abrode, shall neuer be amended, except the greatest in Courte will order and mend them selues first. I know, som greate and good ones in Courte, were authors, that honest Citizens of London, shoulde watche at euerie gate, to take misordered persones in apparell. I know, that honest Londoners did so: And I sawe, which I sawe than, & reporte now with some greife, that som Courtlie men were offended with these good men of London. And that, which greued me most of all, I sawe the verie same tyme, for all theis good orders, commaunded from the Courte and executed in London, I sawe I say, cum out of London, euen Masters, vnto the presence of the Prince, a great rable of meane and light persons, in apparell, for matter, Scholers against lawe, for making, against order, for facion,

namelie hose, so without all order, as he thought himselfe most braue, that durst do most in breaking order and was most monsterous in misorder. And for all the great commaundementes, that came out of the Courte, yet this bold misorder, was winked at, and borne withall, in the Courte. I thought, it was not well, that som great ones of the Court, durst declare themselues offended, with good men of London, for doinge their dewtie, & the good ones of the Courte, would not shew themselues offended, with ill men of London, for breaking good order. I fownde thereby a sayinge of Surates to be most trewe that ill men be more hastie, than good men be forwarde, to prosecute their purposes, euen as Christ himselfe saith, of the Children of light and darknes.

Beside apparell, in all other thinges to, not so moch, good lawes and strait commaundementes as the example and maner of liuing of great men, doth carie all meane men euerie where, to like, and loue, & do, as they do. For if but two or three noble men in the Court, wold but beginne to shoote, all yong Ientlemen, the whole Court, all in shootondon, the whole Realme, wold straight waie tyng.

exercise shooting.

The first booke teachyng

What praise shold they wynne to themselues, what commoditie shold they bring to their contrey, that would thus deserue to be pointed at: Beholde, there goeth, the author of good order, the guide of good men. I cold say more, and yet not ouermuch. But perchance, som will say, I haue stepte to farre, out of my schole, into the common welthe, from teaching

Writte not for great me, but for great mens children.

222

a yong scholer, to monishe greate and noble men: yet I trust good and wise men will thinke and iudge of me, that my minde was, not so moch, to be busic and bold with them, that be great now, as to give trewe aduise to them, that may

be great hereafter. Who, if they do, as I wishe them to do, how great so euer they be now, by blood and other mens meanes, they shall becum a greate deale greater hereafter, by learninge, vertue, and their owne desertes: which is trewe praise, right worthines, and verie Nobilitie in deede. Yet, if som will needes presse me, that I am to bold with great men, & stray to farre from my matter, I will aunswere them with S. Paul, sive perc ontetionem, sive quocung modo,

modò Christus prædicetur, &c. euen so, whether in place, or out of place, with my matter, or beside my matter, if I can hereby either prouoke the good, or staye the ill, I shall thinke my writing herein well imployed.

But, to cum downe, from greate men, and hier matters, to my litle children, and poore scholehouse againe, I will, God willing, go forwarde orderlie, as I purposed, to instructe Children and yong men, both for learninge and maners.

Hitherto, I haue shewed, what harme, ouermoch feare bringeth to children: and what hurte, ill companie, and ouermoch libertie breedeth in youghte: meening thereby, that from seauen yeare olde, to seauentene, loue is the best allurement to learninge: from seauentene to seauen and twentie, that wise men shold carefullie see the steppes of youghte surelie staide by good order, in that most slipperie tyme: and speciallie in the Courte, a place most dangerous for youghte to liue in, without great grace, good regarde, and diligent looking to.

Syr Richard Sackuile, that worthy Ientleman of worthy Trauelyng memorie, as I sayd in the begynnynge, in the Queenes priuie Chamber at Windesore, after he had talked with me, for the right choice of a good

witte in a child for learnyng, and of the trewe difference betwixt quicke and hard wittes, of alluring yong children by ientlenes to loue learning, and of the speciall care that was to be had, to keepe yong men from licencious liuyng, he was most earnest with me, to haue me say my mynde also, what I thought, concerning the fansie that many yong Ientlemen of England haue to trauell abroad, and namely to lead a long lyfe in Italie. His request, both for his authoritie, and good will toward me, was a sufficient commaundement vnto me, to satisfie his pleasure, with vtteryng plainlie my opinion in that matter. Syr quoth I, I take goyng thither, and living there, for a yonge ientleman, that doth not goe vnder the kepe and garde of such a man, as both, by wisedome can, and authoritie dare rewle him, to be meruelous dangerous. And whie I said so than, I will declare at large now: which I said than privatelie, and write now openlie, not bicause I do contemne, either the knowledge of strange and diuerse tonges, and namelie the The Ita-Italian tonge, which next the Greeke and Latin lian tong. tonge, I like and loue aboue all other: or else bicause I do despise, the learning that is gotten, or the experience that is gathered in strange contries: or for any private malice that beare to Italie: which contrie, and Italia. in it, namelie Rome, I haue alwayes speciallie Roma. honored: bicause, tyme was, whan Italie and Rome, haue bene, to the greate good of vs that now liue, the best breeders and bringers vp, of the worthiest men, not onelie for wise speakinge, but also for well doing, in all Ciuill affaires, that euer was in the worlde. But now, that tyme is gone, and though the place remayne, yet the olde and present maners, do differ as farre, as blacke and white, as vertue and vice. Vertue once made that contrie Mistres ouer all the worlde. Vice now maketh that contrie slaue to them, that before, were glad to

serue it. All men seeth it: They themselues confesse it, namelie soch, as be best and wisest amongest them. For sinne, by lust and vanitie, hath and doth breed vp euery where, common contept of Gods word, private contention in many families, open factions in euery Citie: and so, makyng them selues bonde, to vanitie and vice at home, they are content to beare the yoke of seruyng straungers abroad. Italie now, is not that Italie, that it was wont to be: and therfore now, not so

fitte a place, as some do counte it, for yong men to fetch either wisedome or honestie from thence. For surelie, they will make other but bad Scholers, that be so ill Masters to them selues. Yet, if a ientleman will nedes trauell into Italie, he shall do well, to looke on the life, of the wisest traueler, that euer traueled thether, set out by the wisest writer, that euer spake with tong, Gods doctrine onelie excepted: and that is Vlysses in Vlysses, and his trauell, I wishe our Vlysses. trauelers to looke vpon, not so much to feare Homere. them, with the great daungers, that he many tymes suffered, as to instruct them, with his excellent wisedome, which he alwayes and euerywhere vsed. Yea euen those, that be learned and wittie trauelers, when they be disposed to prayse traueling, as a great commendacion, and the best Scripture they haue for it, they gladlie recite the third verse of Homere, in his first booke of Odyssea, containing a great prayse of Vlysses, for the witte he gathered, & wisedome he vsed in dous. a. his traueling.

Which verse, bicause, in mine opinion, it was not made at the first, more naturallie in Greke by Homere, nor after turned more aptelie into Latin by Horace, than it was a good while ago, in Cambrige, translated into English, both plainlie for the sense, and roundlie for the verse, by one of the best Scholers, that euer S. Iohns Colledge bred, M. Watson, myne old frend, somtime Bishop of Lincolne, therfore, for their sake, that haue lust to see, how our English tong, in auoidyng barbarous ryming, may as well receive, right quantitie of sillables, and trewe order of versifiyng (of which matter more at large hereafter) as either Greke or Latin, if a cunning man haue it in handling, I will set forth that one verse in all three tonges, for an Example to good wittes, that shall delite in like learned exercise.

Homerus.

πολλών δ' ανθρώπων ίδεν άστεα καὶ νόον έγνω. Doratius.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & vrbes.

HI. WHatson.

All trauellers do gladly report great prayse of Vlysses, For that he knew many mens maners, and saw many Cities.

And yet is not Vlysses commended, so much, nor so oft, in Homere, bicause he was πολύτροπος, that is, skilfull in many mes manners and facions, as bicause he was $\pi \circ \lambda \dot{\nu} \mu \eta \tau \iota \varsigma$, that is, wise in all purposes, & ware in all places: which wisedome and warenes will not serue neither a traueler, except Pallas be alwayes at his elbow, that is Gods speciall grace from heauen, to kepe him in Gods feare, in all his doynges, in all his ieorneye. For, he shall not alwayes in his absence out of England, light vpon a ientle Alcynous, and walke in his faire gardens full of all harmelesse pleasures: but he shall sometymes, fall, either into the handes of some cruell Cyclops, or into the lappe of some wanton and dalying Dame Calypso: and so suffer the danger of many a deadlie Denne, not so full of perils, to distroy the body, as, full of vayne pleasures, to poyson the mynde. Some Siren shall sing him a song, sweete in tune, but sownding in the ende, to his vtter destruction. If Scylla drowne him not, Carybdis may fortune swalow hym. Some Circes shall make him, of a plaine English man, a right Italian. And at

length to hell, or to some hellish place, is he likelie to go: from whence is hard returning, although one Vlysses, and that by Pallas ayde, and good cousell of Tiresias once escaped that horrible Den of deadly darkenes.

Therfore, if wise men will nedes send their sonnes into Italie, let them do it wiselie, vnder the kepe and garde of him, who, by his wisedome and honestie, by his example and authoritie, may be hable to kepe them safe and sound, in the feare of God, in Christes trewe Religion, in good order and honestie of liuyng: except they will haue them run headling, into ouermany ieoperdies, as Vlysses had done many tymes, if Pallas had not alwayes gouerned him: if he had not vsed, to stop his eares with waxe: to bind him selfe to the mast of his shyp: to feede dayly, vpon that όδ. κ. swete herbe Moly with the blake roote and white floore, giuen vnto hym by Mercurie, to auoide all the inchantmetes of Circes. Wherby, the Diuine

Pallas from heauen.

Ιπολύμητις.

Alcynous. 68. 2.

Cyclops. 68. 1. Calypso. 88. €.

Sirenes. Scylla. Caribdis. Circes.

Moly Her-

The first booke teachyng

Poete Homer ment couertlie (as wise and Godly men do iudge)
that loue of honestie, and hatred of ill, which
Dauid more plainly doth call the feare of God:
the onely remedie agaynst all inchantementes of sinne.

I know diverse noble personages, and many worthie Ientlemen of England, whom all the Siren songes of Italie, could never vntwyne from the maste of Gods word: nor no inchantment of vanitie, overturne them, from the feare of God, and love of honestie.

But I know as many, or mo, and some, sometyme my deare frendes, for whose sake I hate going into that coutrey the more, who, partyng out of England feruent in the loue of Christes doctrine, and well furnished with the feare of God, returned out of Italie worse transformed, than euer was any in Circes Court. I know diverse, that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italie, not onely with worse maners, but also with lesse learnyng: neither so willing to liue orderly, nor yet so hable to speake learnedlie, as they were at home, before they went abroad. And why? Plato, yt wise writer, and worthy traueler him selfe, telleth the cause why. He went into Sicilia, a coutrey, no nigher *Italy* by site of place, tha *Italie* that is now, is like Sicilia that was the, in all corrupt maners and licēciousnes of life. Plato found in Sicilia, euery Citie full of vanitie, full of factions, euen as Italie is now. And as Homere, like a learned Poete, doth feyne, that Circes, by pleasant inchantmētes, did turne men into beastes, some into Swine, som into Asses, some into Foxes, some into Wolues etc. euen so Plato, like a wise Philosopher, doth plainelie Plat. ad Dionys. declare, that pleasure, by licentious vanitie, that Epist. 3. sweete and perilous poyson of all youth, doth ingender in all those, that yeld vp themselues to her, foure notorious properties.

The fruits of vayne pleasure.

226

[1. λήθην]
2. δυσμαθίαν
3. ἀφροσύνην

The first, forgetfulnes of all good thinges learned before:

the second, dulnes to receyue either learnyng or
why men honestie euer after: the third, a mynde embracing

returne out lightlie the worse opinion, and baren of discretion of Italie. to make trewe difference betwixt good and ill, lesse learbetwixt troth, and vanitie, the fourth, a proude ned and disdainfulnes of other good me, in all honest worse manered. matters. Homere and Plato, have both one Homer and meaning, looke both to one end. For, if a ma Plate ioyinglutte himself with vanitie, or walter in filthined and exnes like a Swyne, all learnyng, all goodnes, is pounded. sone forgotten: Than, quicklie shall he becum A Swyne. a dull Asse, to vnderstand either learnyng or An Asse. honestie: and yet shall he be as sutle as a Foxe, A Foxe. in breedyng of mischief, in bringyng in misorder, with a busic head, a discoursing tog, and a factious harte, in euery priuate affaire, in all matters of state, with this pretie propertie, alwayes glad to commend the worse άφροσύνη, partie, and euer ready to defend the falser And why? For, where will is giue from goodnes to vanitie, the mynde is sone caryed from right iudgement, to any fond opinion, in Religion, in Philosophie, or any other kynde of learning. The fourth fruite of vaine pleasure, by Homer and Platos iudgement, is pride in them selues, contempt of others, the very badge of all those that serue in Circes Court. meenyng of both Homer and Plato, is plainlie declared in one short sentence of the holy Prophet of God Hieremias Hieremie, crying out of the vaine & vicious life 4. Cap. of the Israelites. This people (sayth he) be fooles and dulhedes to all goodnes, but sotle, cunning and bolde, in any mischiefe. &c.

The true medicine against the inchantmentes of Circes, the vanitie of licencious pleasure, the inticementes of all sinne, is, in Homere, the herbe Moly, with the blacke roote, and white flooer, sower at the first, but sweete in the end: which, Hesiodus termeth the study of vertue, hard and irksome in the beginnyng, but in the end, easie and pleasant. And that, which is most to be marueled at, the divine Poete Homere sayth plainlie that this medicine against sinne and vanitie, is not found out by man, but given and taught by God. And for some one sake, that will have delite to read

Hesiodus de virtute.

Homerus.

that sweete and Godlie Verse, I will recite the very wordes of *Homere* and also turne them into rude English metre.

χαλεπον δέ τ' ορύσσειν ανδράσι γε θνητοίσι, θεοί δέ τε πάντα δύνανται.

In English thus.

No mortall mā, with sweat of browe, or toile of minde, But onely God, who can do all, that herbe doth finde.

Plate also, that divine Philosopher, hath many Godly medicines agaynst the poyson of vayne pleasure, in many places, but specially in his Epistles to Dionisius the tyrant of Sicilie: yet agaynst those, that will nedes becum Plat. ad beastes, with seruyng of Circes, the Prophet Dio. Dauid, crieth most loude, Nolite fieri sicut equus et Psal. 32. mulus: and by and by giueth the right medicine, the trewe herbe Moly, In camo & freno maxillas eorum constringe, that is to say, let Gods grace be the bitte, let Gods feare be the bridle, to stay them from runnyng headlong into vice, and to turne them into the right way agayne. Dauid in the second Psalme after, giueth the Psal. 33. same medicine, but in these plainer wordes, Diuerte à malo, & fac bonum. But I am affraide, that ouer many of our trauelers into Italie, do not exchewe the way to Circes Court: but go, and ryde, and runne, and flie thether, they make great hast to cum to her: they make great sute to serue her: yea, I could point out some with my finger, that neuer had gone out of England, but onelie to serue Circes, in Italie. Vanitie and vice, and any licence to ill liuyng in England was counted stale and rude vnto them. And so, beyng Mules and Horses before they went, returned verie Swyne and Asses home agayne: yet euerie where verie Foxes with suttle and busie heades; and where they may, verie A trewe wolues, with cruell malicious hartes. A mer-Picture of uelous monster, which, for filthines of liuyng, for a knight of Circes dulnes to learning him selfe, for wilinesse in dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cause, should carie at once in one bodie, the belie of a Swyne, the head of an Asse, the brayne of a Foxe, the wombe of a wolfe. If you thinke, we judge amisse, and write to sore

Italie.

4 Experi-

\5 Maners.

ence.

against you, heare, what the Italian sayth of the English man, what the master reporteth of the scholer: who The Itavttereth playnlie, what is taught by him, and what liās iudgelearned by you, saying, Englese Italianato, e un ment of diabolo incarnato; that is to say, you remaine men Englishmë brought vp in shape and facion, but becum deuils in life in Italie. and condition. This is not, the opinion of one, for some private spite, but the judgement of all, in a common Prouerbe, which riseth, of that learning, and those maners, which you gather in Italie: a good Scholehouse The Itaof wholesome doctrine: and worthy Masters of lian diffameth him commendable Scholers, where the Master had selfe, to rather diffame hym selfe for hys teachyng, than shame the not shame his Scholer for his learning. A good Englishe nature of the maister, and faire conditions of the scholers. And now chose you, you Italian English men, whether you will be angrie with vs, for calling you monsters, or with the Italianes, for callyng you deuils, or else with your owne selues, that take so much paines, and go so farre, to make your selues both. If some yet do not well vnder-An Engstand, what is an English man Italianated, I will lish man plainlie tell him. He, that by liuing, & traueling Italianain Italie, bringeth home into Englad out of Italie, the Religion, the learning, the policie, the experience, the maners of *Italie*. That is to say, for Religion, r Religion. Papistrie or worse: for learning, lesse 2 Learncommonly than they caried out with ing. them: for pollicie, a factious hart, a 3 Pollicie. gotten in

varietie of vanities, and chaunge of filthy lyuing. These be the inchantementes of Circes, brought out of Italiae, to marre mens maners in England: much, by example of ill life, but more by preceptes of fonde bookes, of late translated out of Italian into bokes trassemented by honest titles the soner to corrupt honest maners: dedicated ouer boldlie to vertuous and honor-

discoursing head, a mynde to medle in The

new mischieues neuer

all mens matters: for experience,

knowne in England before: for maners,

plentie of

sore to others.

able personages, the easielier to begile simple and innocet wittes. It is pitie, that those, which have authoritie and charge, to allow and dissalow bookes to be printed, be no more circumspect herein, than they are. Ten Sermons at Paules Crosse do not so moch good for mouyng me to trewe doctrine, as one of those bookes do harme, with inticing men to ill liuing. Yea, I say farder, those bookes, tend not so moch to corrupt honest liuyng, as they do, to subuert trewe Religion. Mo Papistes be made, by your mery bookes of *Italie*, than by your earnest bookes of *Louain*. And bicause our great Phisicians, do winke at the matter, and make no counte of this sore, I, though not admitted one of their felowshyp, yet hauyng bene many yeares a prentice to Gods trewe Religion, and trust to continewe a poore iorney man therein all dayes of my life, for the dewtie I owe, & loue I beare, both to trewe doctrine, and honest liuing, though I haue no authoritie to amend the sore my selfe, yet I will declare my good will, to discouer the

S. Paul saith, that sectes and ill opinions, be the workes of the flesh, and frutes of sinne, this is spoken, no Ad Gal. 5. more trewlie for the doctrine, than sensiblie for the reason. And why? For, ill doinges, breed ill thinkinges. And of corrupted maners, spryng peruerted judgementes. how? there be in man two speciall Voluntas) Bonum. thinges: Mans will, mans mynde. Respicit Verum. Where will inclineth to goodnes, the mynde is bent to troth: Where will is caried from goodnes to vanitie, the mynde is sone drawne from troth to false opinion. And so, the readiest way to entangle the mynde with Talse doctrine, is first to intice the will to wanton liuyng. Therfore, when the busic and open Papistes abroad, could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in England fast enough, from troth and right iudgement in doctrine, than the sutle and

secrete Papistes at home, procured bawdie bookes to be translated out of the *Italian* tonge, whereby ouer many yong willes and witter allured to wantonnes, do now boldly contemne all seuere bookes that sounde to honestie and godlines. In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our tong, sauyng certaine bookes of Cheualrie, as they

asice of the control of the control

sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, Morte Arthure: the whole pleasure Morte Arof which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, thur. in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye: In which booke those be counted the noblest Knightes, that do kill most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest aduoulteries by sutlest shiftes: as Sir Launcelote, with the wife of king Arthure his master: Syr Tristram with the wife of king Marke his vncle: Syr Lamerocke with the wife of king Lote, that was his own aunte. This is good stuffe, for I wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I know, when Gods Bible was banished the Court, and Morte Arthure received into the Princes chamber. What toyes, the dayly readyng of such a booke, may worke in the will of a yong ientleman, or a yong mayde, that liueth welthelie and idlelie, wise men can iudge, and honest me do pitie. And yet ten Morte Arthures do not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes, made in Italie, and translated in England. They open, not fond and common wayes to vice, but such subtle, cunnyng, new, and diuerse shiftes, to cary yong willes to vanitie, and yong wittes to mischief, to teach old bawdes new schole poyntes, as the simple head of an English man is not hable to inuent, nor neuer was hard of in England before, yea when Papistrie ouerflowed all. Suffer these bookes to be read, and they shall soone displace all bookes of godly learning. For they, carrying the will to vanitie, and marryng good maners, shall easily corrupt the mynde with ill opinions, and false iudgement in doctrine: first, to thinke ill of all trewe Religion, and at last to thinke nothlyng of God hym selfe, one speciall pointe that is to be learned in Italie, and Italian bookes. And that which is most to be lamented, and therfore more nedefull to be looked to, there be moe of these vngratious bookes set out in Printe within these fewe monethes, than haue bene sene in England many score yeare before. And bicause our English men made Italians, can not hurt, but certaine persons, and in certaine places, therfore these Italian bookes are made English, to bryng mischief enough

openly and boldly, to all states great and meane, yong and old, euery where.

And thus yow see, how will intised to wantonnes, doth easelie allure the mynde to false opinions: and how corrupt maners in liuinge, breede false iudgement in doctrine: how sinne and fleshlines, bring forth sectes and heresies: And therefore suffer not vaine bookes to breede vanitie in mens willes, if yow would have Goddes trothe take roote in mens myndes.

That Italian, that first inuented the Italian Prouerbe against our Englishe men Italianated, ment no more their vanitie in liuing, than their lewd opinion in Religion. For, in calling them Deuiles, he carieth them cleane from God: and yet he carieth them no farder, than they willinglie go themselues, that is, where they may freely say their mindes, to the open contempte of God and all godlines, both in liuing and doctrine.

And how? I will expresse how, not by a Fable of Homere, nor by the Philosophie of Plato, but by a plaine troth of Goddes word, sensiblie vttered by Dauid thus. Thies men, abhominabiles facti in studijs suis, thinke verily, and singe gladlie the verse before, Dixit insipiens in Corde suo, non est Deus: that is to say, they geuing themselues vp to Psa. 14. vanitie, shakinge of the motions of Grace, driuing from them the feare of God, and running headlong into all sinne, first, lustelie contemne God, than scornefullie mocke his worde, and also spitefullie hate and hurte all well willers Than they have in more reverence, the triumphes of Petrarche: than the Genesis of Moses: They make more accounte of Tullies offices, than S. Paules epistles: of a tale in Bocace, than a storie of the Bible. Than they counte as Fables, the holie misteries of Christian Religion. They make Christ and his Gospell, onelie serue Ciuill pollicie: Than neyther Religion cummeth amisse to them: In tyme they be Promoters of both openlie: in place againe mockers of both priuilie, as I wrote once in a rude ryme.

Now new, now olde, now both, now neither, To serve the worldes course, they care not with whether.

For where they dare, in cumpanie where they like, they

boldlie laughe to scorne both protestant and Papist. care for no scripture: They make no coute of generall councels: they contene the consent of the Chirch: They passe for no Doctores: They mocke the Pope: They raile on Luther: They allow neyther side: They like none, but onelie themselues: The marke they shote at, the ende they looke for, the heaven they desire, is onelie, their owne present pleasure, and private proffit: whereby, they plainlie declare, of whose schole, of what Religion they be: that is, Epicures in liuing, and $\tilde{a}\theta \epsilon \omega$ in doctrine: this last worde, is no more vnknowne now to plaine Englishe men, than the Person was vnknown somtyme in England, vntill som Englishe man tooke peines, to fetch that deuelish opinion out of Italie. Thies men, thus Italianated abroad, can not abide our Godlie Italian Chirch at home: they be not of that in London. Parish, they be not of that felowshyp: they like not yt preacher: they heare not his sermons: Excepte somtymes for copanie, they cum thither, to heare the Italian tonge naturally spoken, not to hear Gods doctrine trewly preached.

And yet, thies men, in matters of Diuinitie, openlie pretend a great knowledge, and haue privatelie to them selves, a verie compendious vnderstanding of all, which neuertheles they will vtter when and where they liste: And that is this: All the misteries of Moses, the whole lawe and Cerimonies, the Psalmes and Prophetes, Christ and his Gospell, GOD and the Deuill, Heauen and Hell, Faith, Conscience, Sinne, Death, and all they shortlie wrap vp, they quickly expounde with this one

halfe verse of Horace.

Credat Iudæus Appella.

Yet though in Italie they may freely be of no Religion, as they are in Englande in verie deede to, neuerthelesse returning home into England they must countenance the profession of the one or the other, howsoeuer inwardlie, they laugh to scorne both. And though, for their private matters they can follow, fawne, and flatter noble Personages, contrarie to them

in all respectes, yet commonlie they allie themselues with the worst Papistes, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree togither in three proper opinions: In open contempte of Goddes worde: in a secret securitie of sinne: and in

Papistrie and impietie agree in three opinia bloodie desire to haue all taken away, by sword or burning, that be not of their faction. They that do read, with indifferent iudgement, Pygius and Machiauel, two indifferent Patriarches of thies two Religions, do know full well that I say trewe.

Ye see, what manners and doctrine, our Englishe men fetch out of Italie: For finding no other there, they can bring no other hither. And therefore, manie godlie and excellent learned Englishe men, not manie yeares ago, did make a better choice, whan open crueltie draue them out of this contrie, to place themselues there, where Christes doctrine, the feare of God, punishment of sinne, and discipline of honestie, were had in

speciall regarde.

I was once in Italie my selfe: but I thanke God, my abode there, was but ix. dayes: And yet I sawe Venice. in that litle tyme, in one Citie, more libertie to sinne, than euer I hard tell of in our noble Citie of London in ix. yeare. I sawe, it was there, as free to sinne, London. not onelie without all punishment, but also without any mans marking, as it is free in the Citie of London, to chose, without all blame, whether a man lust to weare Shoo And good cause why: For being vnlike in troth or pantocle. of Religion, they must nedes be vnlike in honestie of liuing. For blessed be Christ, in our Citie of London, Seruice of commonlie the commandementes of God, be more God in England. diligentlie taught, and the seruice of God more reuerentlie vsed, and that daylie in many private mens houses, than they be in Italie once a weeke in their Seruice of common Chirches: where, masking Ceremonies, God in Italic. to delite the eye, and vaine soundes, to please the eare, do quite thrust out of the Chirches, all seruice of God in spirit and troth. Yea, the Lord Maior The Lord of London, being but a Ciuill officer, is com-Major of London. monlie for his tyme, more diligent, in punishing sinne, the bent enemie against God and good order, than all the bloodie Inquisitors in Italie be in seauen yeare. The Inquisitors in For, their care and charge is, not to punish sinne, not to amend manners, not to purge doctrine, but onelie to watch and ouersee that Christes trewe

Religion set no sure footing, where the Pope hath any Iurisdiction. I learned, when I was at Venice, that there it is counted good pollicie, when there be foure or fiue An ungodbrethren of one familie, one, onelie to marie: & lie pollicie. all the rest, to waulter, with as litle shame, in open lecherie, as Swyne do here in the common myre. Yea, there be as fayre houses of Religion, as great provision, as diligent officers, to kepe up this misorder, as Bridewell is, and all the Masters there, to kepe downe misorder. And therefore, if the Pope himselfe, do not onelie graunt pardons to furder thies wicked purposes abrode in Italie, but also (although this present Pope, in the beginning, made som shewe of misliking thereof) assigne both meede and merite to the maintenance of stewes and brothelhouses at home in Rome, than let wise men thinke Italie a safe place for holsom doctrine, and godlie manners, and a fitte schole for yong ientlemen of England to be brought vp in.

Our Italians bring home with them other faultes from Italie, though not so great as this of Religion, yet a great deale greater, tha many good men can well beare. For commonlie they cum home, common contemners of mariage and readie persuaders of all other to the same:

not because they loue virginitie, nor yet because they hate prettie yong virgines, but, being free in Italie, to go whither so euer lust will cary them, they do not like, that lawe and honestie should be soch a barre to their like libertie at home in England. And yet they be, the greatest makers of loue, the daylie daliers, with such pleasant wordes, with such smilyng and secret countenances, with such signes, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost, before they were purposed to be made, with bargaines of wearing colours, floures, and herbes, to breede occasion of ofter meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that &c. And although I have seene some, innocent of all ill, and stayde in all honestie, that haue vsed these thinges without all harme, without all suspicion of harme, yet these knackes were brought first into England by them, that learned the before in Italie in Circes Court: and how Courtlie curtesses so euer they be counted now, yet, if the meaning and maners of some that do vse them, were somewhat amended, it were no great hurt, neither to them selues, nor to others.

An other propertie of this our English Italians is, to be meruelous singular in all their matters: Singular in knowledge, ignorant of nothyng: So singular in wisedome (in their owne opinion) as scarse they counte the best Counsellor the Prince hath, comparable with them: Common discoursers of all matters: busic searchers of most secret affaires: open flatterers of great men: privile mislikers of good men: Faire speakers, with smiling countenaces, and much curtessie openlie to all Ready bakbiters, sore nippers, and spitefull reporters priuilie of good men. And beyng brought vp in Italie, in some free Citie, as all Cities be there: where a man may freelie discourse against what he will, against whom he lust: against any Prince, agaynst any gouernement, yea against God him selfe, and his whole Religion: where he must be, either Guelphe or Gibiline, either French or Spanish: and alwayes compelled to be of some partie, of some faction, he shall neuer be compelled to be of any Religion: And if he medle not ouer much with Christes true Religion, he shall haue free libertie to embrace all Religions, and becum, if he lust at once, without any let or punishment, Iewish, Turkish, Papish, and Deuillish.

A yong Ientleman, thus bred vp in this goodly schole, to learne the next and readie way to sinne, to haue a busie head, a factious hart, a talkatiue tonge, fed with discoursing of factions: led to contemne God and his Religion, shall cum home into England, but verie ill taught, either to be an honest man him self, a quiet subject to his Prince, or willyng to serue God, vnder the obedience of trewe doctrine, or within the order of honest liuing.

I know, none will be offended with this my generall writing, but onelie such, as finde them selues giltie priuatelie therin: who shall have good leave to be offended with me, vntill they begin to amende them selues. I touch not them that be good: and I say to litle of them that be nought. And so, though not enough for their deserving, yet sufficientlie for this time, and more els when, if occasion so require.

And thus farre haue I wandred from my first purpose of teaching a child, yet not altogether out of the way, bicause

ir li

this whole taulke hath tended to the onelie aduauncement of trothe in Religion, and honestie of liuing: and hath bene wholie within the compasse of learning and good maners, the speciall pointes belonging in the right bringyng vp of youth.

But to my matter, as I began, plainlie and simplie with my yong Scholer, so will I not leaue him, God willing, vntill I haue brought him a perfite Scholer out of the Schole, and placed him in the Vniuersitie, to becum a fitte student, for Logicke and Rhetoricke:

and so after to Phisicke, Law, or
Diuinitie, as aptnes of nature, aduise of frendes, and
Gods disposition shall lead him.

The ende of the first booke.

The second booke.

Fter that your scholer, as I sayd before, shall cum in 1 deede, first, to a readie perfitnes in translating, than, to a ripe and skilfull choice in markyng out hys sixe pointes, as,

- 1. Proprium.
- 2. Translatum.
- 3. Synonymum.
 4. Contrarium.
 5. Diuersum.

Than take this order with him: Read dayly vnto him, some booke of Tullie, as the third booke of Cicero. Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, de Amicitia, de Senectute, or that excellent Epistle conteining almost the whole first booke ad Q. fra: some Comedie of Terentius. Terence or Plautus: but in Plautus, skilfull choice Plautus. must be vsed by the master, to traine his Scholler to a judgement, in cutting out perfitelie ouer old and vnproper wordes: Cas. Commentaries are to be read with Iul. Cæsar. all curiositie, in specially without all exception to be made, either by frende or foe, is seene, the vnspotted proprietie of the Latin tong, euen whan it was, as the Grecians say, in $d\kappa\mu\hat{\eta}$, that is, at the hiest pitch of all perfitenesse: or some Orations of T. Liuius, such as be both longest T. Liuius. and plainest.

These bookes, I would have him read now, a good deale at euery lecture: for he shall not now vse dalie translation, but onely construe againe, and parse, where ye suspect, is any nede: yet, let him not omitte in these bookes, his former exercise, in

marking diligently, and writing orderlie out his six pointes. And for translating, vse you your selfe, euery second or thyrd day, to chose out, some Epistle ad Atticum, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of Tullie, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde: and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and than give it him to translate into Latin againe: allowing him good space and tyme to do it, both with diligent heede, and good aduisement. Here his witte shalbe new set on worke: his iudgement, for right choice, trewlie tried: his memorie, for sure reteyning, better exercised, than by learning, any thing without the booke: & here, how much he hath proffited, shall plainly appeare. Whan he bringeth it translated vnto you, bring you forth the place of Tullie: lay them together: compare the one with the other: commend his good choice, & right placing of wordes: Shew his faultes iently, but blame them not ouer sharply: for, of such missings, ientlie admonished of, proceedeth glad & good heed taking: of good heed taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after, groweth to perfitnesse, if this order, be diligentlie vsed by the scholer & iently handled by the master: for here, shall all the hard pointes of Gramer, both easely and surelie be learned vp: which, scholers in common scholes, by making of Latines, be groping at, with care & feare, & yet in many yeares, they scarse can reach vnto them. I remember, whan I was yong. in the North, they went to the Grammer schole, litle children: they came from thence great lubbers: alwayes learning, and litle profiting: learning without booke, euery thing, vnderstadyng within the booke, litle or nothing: Their whole knowledge, by learning without the booke, was tied onely to their tong & lips, and neuer asceded vp to the braine & head, and therfore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe: They were, as men, alwayes goyng, but euer out of the way: and why? For their whole labor, or rather great toyle without order, was euen vaine idlenesse without proffit. In deed, they tooke great paynes about learning: but employed small labour in learning: Whan by this way prescribed in this booke, being streight, plaine, & easie, the scholer is alwayes laboring with pleasure, and euer going right on forward with proffit: Alwayes laboring I say, for, or he haue costrued

parced, twise träslated ouer by good aduisemēt, marked out his six pointes by skilfull iudgement, he shall haue necessarie occasion, to read ouer euery lecture, a dosen tymes, at the least. Which, bicause he shall do alwayes in order, he shall do it alwayes with pleasure: And pleasure allureth loue: loue hath lust to labor: labor alwayes obteineth his purpose, as most trewly, both Aristotle in his Rhetoricke & Oedipus in Sophocles do teach, saying, πâν γὰρ ἐκπονούμενου ὅλισκε. et cet. & this oft reading, is the verie right folowing, of that good Counsell, which Plinie doth geue to his frende Fuscus, saying, Multum, non

multa. But to my purpose againe:

Whan, by this diligent and spedie reading ouer, those forenamed good bokes of Tullie, Terence, Casar, and Livie, and by this second kinde of translating out of your English, tyme shall breed skill, and vse shall bring perfection, than ye may trie, if you will, your scholer, with the third kinde of translation: although the two first wayes, by myne opinion, be, not onelie sufficent of them selues, but also surer, both for the Masters teaching, and scholers learning, than this third way is: Which is thus. Write you in English, some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other frende, naturallie, according to the disposition of the child, or some tale, or fable, or plaine narration, according as Aphthonius beginneth his exercises of learning, and let him translate it into Latin againe, abiding in soch place, where no other scholer may prompe him. But yet, vse you your selfe soch discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compas, both for wordes and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heede, lest your scholer do not better in some point, than you your selfe, except ye haue bene diligentlie exercised in these kindes of translating before:

I had once a profe hereof, tried by good experience, by a deare frende of myne, whan I came first from Cambrige, to serue the Queenes Maiestie, than Ladie Elizabeth, lying at worthie Syr Ant. Denys in Cheston. Iohn Whitneye, a yong ientleman, was my bedfeloe, who willyng by good nature and prouoked by mine aduise, began to learne the Latin tong, after the order declared in this booke. We began after Christmas: I read vnto him Tullie de Amicitia, which he did euerie day

twise translate, out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin agayne. About S. Laurence tyde after, to proue how he proffited, I did chose out Torquatus taulke de Amicitia, in the later end of the first booke de finib. bicause that place was, the same in matter, like in wordes and phrases, nigh to the forme and facion of sentences, as he had learned before in de Amicitia. I did translate it my selfe into plaine English, and gaue it him to turne into Latin: Which he did, so choislie, so orderlie, so without any great misse in the hardest pointes of Grammer, that some, in seuen yeare in Grammer scholes, yea, & some in the Vniuersities to, can not do halfe so well. This worthie yong Ientleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole house, and speciallie to that most noble Ladie, now Queene Elizabeth her selfe, departed within few dayes, out of this world.

And if in any cause, a man may without offence of God speake somewhat vngodlie, surely, it was some grief vnto me, to see him hie so hastlie to God, as he did. A Court, full of soch yong Ientlemen, were rather a Paradise than a Court vpon earth. And though I had neuer Poeticall head, to make any verse, in any tong, yet either loue, or sorow, or both, did wring out of me than, certaine carefull thoughtes of my good will towardes him, which in my murning for him, fell forth, more by chance, than either by skill or vse, into this kinde of misorderlie meter.

Myne owne Iohn Whitney, now farewell, now death doth parte vs twaine,

No death, but partyng for a while, whom life shall ioyne agayne. Therfore my hart cease sighes and sobbes, cease sorowes seede to sow, Wherof no gaine, but greater grief, and hurtfull care may grow. Yet, whan I thinke upon soch giftes of grace as God him lent, My losse, his gaine, I must a while, with ioyfull teares lament. Yong yeares to yelde soch frute in Court, where seede of vice is sowne, Is sometime read, in some place seene, amogst us seldom knowne. His life he ledde, Christes lore to learne, with will to worke the same:

He read to know, and knew to live, and lived to praise his name. So fast to frende, so foe to few, so good to every weight, I may well wishe, but scarcelie hope, agayne to have in sight.

The greater ioye his life to me, his death the greater payne: His life in Christ so surelie set, doth glad my hearte agayne: His life so good, his death better, do mingle mirth with care, My spirit with ioye, my flesh with grief, so deare a frend to spare. Thus God the good, while they be good, doth take, and leaves vs ill, That we should mend our sinfull life, in life to tary still. Thus, we well left, be better reft, in heaven to take his place, That by like life, and death, at last, we may obteine like grace. Myne owne Iohn Whiteney agayne fairewell, a while thus parte in twaine. Whom payne doth part in earth, in heaven great joye shall joyne agayne.

In this place, or I procede farder, I will now declare, by whose authoritie I am led, and by what reason I am moued, to thinke, that this way of duble translation out of one tong into an other, in either onelie, or at least chiefly, to be exercised, speciallie of youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tong.

There be six wayes appointed by the best learned men, for

the learning of tonges, and encreace of eloquence, as

- Translatio linguarum.
- 2. Paraphrasis.
 3. Metaphrasis.
 4. Epitome.
 5. Imitatio.

All theis be vsed, and commended, but in order, and for respectes: as person, habilitie, place, and tyme shall require. The fine last, be fitter, for the Master, than the scholer: for men, than for children: for the vniuersities, rather than for Grammer scholes: yet neuerthelesse, which is, fittest in mine opinion, for our schole, and which is, either wholie to be refused, or partlie to be vsed for our purpose, I will, by good authoritie, and some reason, I trust perticularlie of euerie one, and largelie enough of them all, declare orderlie vnto you.

¶ Translatio Linguarum.

Translation, is easie in the beginning for the scholer, and bringeth also moch learning and great iudgement to the Master. It is most common, and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common, for all your constructions in Grammer scholes, be nothing els but translations: but because they be not double translations, as I do require, they bring forth but simple and single commoditie, and bicause also they lacke the daily vse of writing, which is the onely thing that breedeth deepe roote, both in ye witte, for good vnderstanding, and in ye memorie, for sure keeping of all that is learned. Most commēdable also, & that by ye iudgemēt of all authors, which intreate of their exercises. Tullie in the person of L. Crassus, whom he maketh his example of eloquence and trewe judgement in learning, doth, not onely praise specially, and chose this way of translation for a yong man, but doth also discommend and refuse his owne former wont, in exercising Paraphrasin & Metaphrasin. Paraphrasis is, to take some eloquent Oration, or some notable common place in Latin, and expresse it with other wordes: Metaphrasis is, to take some notable place out of a good Poete, and turn the same sens into meter, or into other wordes in Prose. Crassus, or rather Tullie, doth mislike both these wayes, bicause the Author, either Orator or Poete, had chosen out before, the fittest wordes and aptest composition for that matter, and so he, in seeking other, was driven to vse the worse.

Quintilian also preferreth translation before all other exercises: yet having a lust, to dissent, from Quint. x.

Tullie (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his Rhetoricke over advisedlie, and that rather of an envious minde, than of any iust cause) doth greatlie commend Paraphrasis, crossing spitefullie Tullies iudgement in refusing the same: and so do Ramus and Talæus even at this day in France to. But such singularitie, in dissenting from the best mens iudgementes, in liking onelie their owne opinions, is moch misliked of all them, that iowne with learning, discretion, and wisedome. For he, that can neither like Aristotle in Logicke and Philosophie, nor Tullie in Rhetoricke and

Eloquence, will, from these steppes, likelie enough presume, by like pride, to mount hier, to the misliking of greater matters: that is either in Religion, to have a dissentious head, or in the common wealth, to haue a factious hart: as I knew one a student in Cambrige, who, for a singularitie, began first to dissent, in the scholes, from Aristotle, and sone after became a peruerse Arrian, against Christ and all true Religion: and studied diligentlie Origene, Basileus, and S. Hierome, onelie to gleane out of their workes, the pernicious heresies of Celsus, Eunomius, and Heluidius, whereby the Church of Christ, was so poysoned withall.

But to leave these hye pointes of divinitie, surelie, in this quiet and harmeles controuersie, for the liking, or misliking of Paraphrasis for a yong scholer, euen as far, as Tullie goeth beyond Quintilian, Ramus, and Talæus, in perfite Eloquence, euen so moch, by myne opinion, cum they • Plinius behinde Tullie, for trew judgement in teaching

the same.

Secundus. Plinius dedit Quintiliano præceptori suo, in matrimoniū filiæ, 50000

*Plinius Secundus, a wise Senator, of great experiece, excellentlie learned him selfe, a liberall Patrone of learned men, and the purest writer, in myne opinion, of all his age, I except not Suetonius, his two scholemasters Quintilian and yet his most excellent learned Vncle, the Elder Plinius, doth expresse in an Epistle to his frende

Epist. lib. 7, Epist. 9.

recite them.

Tacitus, nor

Fuscus, many good wayes for order in studie: but he beginneth with translation, and preferreth it to all the rest: and bicause his wordes be notable, I will

Vtile in primis, vt multi præcipiunt, ex Græco in Latinum, & ex Latino vertere in Græcum: Quo genere exercitationis, proprietas splendorg verborum, apta structura sententiarum, figurarum copia & explicandi vis colligitur. Præterea, imitatione optimorum, facultas similia inueniendi paratur: & quæ legentem, fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc, & iudicium acquiritur.

Ye perceive, how *Plinie* teacheth, that by this exercise of double translating, is learned, easely, sensiblie, by litle and litle, not onelie all the hard congruities of Grammer, the choice of

aptest wordes, the right framing of wordes and sentences, cumlines of figures and formes, fitte for euerie matter, and proper for euerie tong, but that which is greater also, in marking dayly, and following diligentlie thus, the steppes of the best Autors, like invention of Argumentes, like order in disposition, like vtterance in Elocution, is easelie gathered vp: whereby your scholer shall be brought not onelie to like eloquence, but also, to all trewe vnderstanding and right judgement, both for writing and speaking. And where Dionys. Halicarnassæus hath written two excellent bookes, the one, de delectu optimorum verborum, the which, I feare, is lost, the other, of the right framing of wordes and sentences, which doth remaine yet in Greeke, to the great proffet of all them, that trewlie studie for eloquence, yet this waie of double translating, shall bring the whole proffet of both these bookes to a diliget scholer, and that easelie and pleasantlie, both for fitte choice of wordes, and apt composition of sentences. And by their authorities and reasons am I moued to thinke, this waie of double translating, either onelie or chieflie, to be fittest, for the spedy and perfit atteyning of any tong. And for spedy attending, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholer, in whom is aptnes, loue, diligence, & constancie, would but translate, after this sorte, one litle booke in Tullie, as de senectute, with two Epistles, the first ad Q. fra: the other ad lentulum, the last saue one, in the first booke, that scholer, I say, should cum to a better knowledge in the Latin tong, that the most part do, that spend foure or fiue yeares, in tossing all the rules of Grammer in common scholes. In deede this one booke with these two Epistles, is not sufficient to affourde all Latin wordes (which is not necessarie for a yong scholer to know) but it is able to furnishe him fully, for all pointes of Grammer, with the right placing ordering, & vse of wordes in all kinde of matter. And why not? for it is read, that Dion. Prussæus, that wise Philosopher, & excellet orator of all his tyme, did cum to the great learning & vtterance that was in him, by reading and following onelie two bookes, Phadon Platonis, and Demosthenes most notable oration περί παραπρεσ- $\beta \epsilon i a \varsigma$. And a better, and nerer example herein, may be, our most noble Queene Elizabeth, who neuer toke yet, Greeke nor Latin Grammer in her hand, after the first declining of a nowne and a verbe, but onely by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates dailie without missing euerie forenone, and likewise som part of Tullie euery afternone, for the space of a yeare or two, hath atteyned to soch a perfite vnderstanding in both the tonges, and to soch a readie vtterance of the latin, and that wyth soch a iudgement, as they be fewe in nomber in both the vniuersities, or els where in England, that be, in both tonges, comparable with her Maiestie. And to conclude in a short rowme, the commodities of double translation, surelie the mynde by dailie marking, first, the cause and matter: than, the wordes and phrases: next, the order and composition: after the reason and argumentes: than the formes and figures of both the tonges: lastelie, the measure and compas of euerie sentence, must nedes, by litle and litle drawe vnto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth vse, which is red.

And thus much for double translation.

Paraphrasis.

Paraphrasis, the second point, is not onelie to expresse at large with moe wordes, but to striue and contend (as Quintilian saith) to translate the best latin authors, into other latin wordes, as many or thereaboutes.

This waie of exercise was vsed first by C. Crabo, and taken vp for a while, by L. Crassus, but sone after, vpon dewe profe thereof, rejected iustlie by Crassus and Cicero: yet allowed and made sterling agayne by M. Quintilian: neuerthelesse, shortlie after, by better assaye, disalowed of his owne scholer Plinius Secundus, who termeth it rightlie thus Audax contentio. It is a bold comparison in deede, to thinke to say better, than that is best. Soch turning of the best into worse, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a faire sweete flagon of siluer, into a foule mustie bottell of ledder: or, to turne pure gold and siluer, into foule brasse and copper.

Soch kinde of *Paraphrasis*, in turning, chopping, and changing, the best to worse, either in the mynte or scholes, (though *M. Brokke* and *Quintilian* both say the contrary) is moch misliked of the best and wisest men. I can better allow an other kinde of *Paraphrasis*, to turne rude and barbarus, into proper and eloquent: which neuerthelesse is an exercise, not fitte for a scholer, but for a perfite master, who in plentie hath

good choise, in copie hath right iudgement, and grounded skill, as did appeare to be in Sebastian Castalio, in translating Kemppes booke de Imitando Christo.

But to folow Quintilianus aduise for Paraphrasis, were euen to take paine, to seeke the worse and fowler way, whan the plaine and fairer is occupied before your eyes.

The olde and best authors that euer wrote, were content if occasion required to speake twise of one matter, not to change the wordes, but $\dot{\rho}\eta\tau\hat{\omega}s$, that is, worde for worde to expresse it againe. For they thought, that a matter, well expressed with fitte wordes and apt composition, was not to be altered, but liking it well their selues, they thought it would also be well allowed of others.

A scholemaster (soch one as I require) knoweth that I say trewe.

He readeth in *Homer*, almost in euerie booke, and speciallie in *Secundo et nono Iliados*, not onelie som verses, but whole leaues, not to be altered with new, but to be vttered with the old selfe same wordes.

11.

He knoweth, that Xenophon, writing twise of Agesilaus, once in his life, againe in the historie Xenophō. of the Greekes, in one matter, kepeth alwayes the selfe same wordes. He doth the like, speaking of Socrates, both in the beginning of his Apologie and in the last ende of ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Demosthenes also in 4. Philippica, doth borow his owne wordes vttered before in his oration de Chersoneso. He doth the like, and that more at large, in his orations, against Androtion and Timocrates.

In latin also, Gicero in som places, and Virgil in mo, do repeate one matter, with the selfe same wordes.

Thies excellent authors, did thus, not for lacke of wordes, but by iudgement and skill: whatsoeuer, other, more curious, and lesse skilfull, do thinke, write, and do.

Paraphrasis neuerthelesse hath good place in learning, but not, by myne opinion, for any scholer, but is onelie to be left to a perfite Master, eyther to expound openlie a good author withall, or to compare privatelie, for his owne exercise, how some notable place of an excellent author, may be vttered with

racion

other fitte wordes: But if ye alter also, the composition, forme, and order than that is not *Paraphrasis*, but *Imitatio*, as I will fullie declare in fitter place.

The scholer shall winne nothing by *Paraphrasis*, but onelie, if we may beleue *Tullie*, to choose worse wordes, to place them out of order, to feare ouermoch the iudgement of the master, to mislike ouermuch the hardnes of learning, and by vse, to gather

vp faultes, which hardlie will be left of againe.

The master in teaching it, shall rather encrease hys owne labor, than his scholers proffet: for when the scholer shall bring vnto his master a peece of Tullie or Cæsar turned into other latin, then must the master cum to Quintilians goodlie lesson de Emendatione, which, (as he saith) is the most profitable part of teaching, but not in myne opinion, and namelie for youthe in Grammer scholes. For the master nowe taketh double paynes: first, to marke what is amisse: againe, to inuent what may be sayd better. And here perchance, a verie good master may easelie both deceive himselfe, and lead his scholer into error.

It requireth greater learning, and deeper iudgement, than is to be hoped for at any scholemasters hand: that is, to be able alwaies learnedlie and perfitelie

> Mutare quod ineptum est: Transmutare quod peruersum est: Replere quod deest; Detrahere quod obest:

And that, which requireth more skill, and deaper conside-

Expungere quod inane est.

(Premere tumentia: Extollere bumilia: Astringere luxuriantia: Componere dissoluta.

The master may here onelie stumble, and perchance faull in teaching, to the marring and mayning of the Scholer in learning, whan it is a matter, of moch readyng, of great learning, and tried iudgement, to make trewe difference betwixt (Sublime, et Tumidum: Grande, et immodicum: Decorum, et ineptum: Perfectum, et nimium.

Some men of our time, counted perfite Maisters of eloquence, in their owne opinion the best, in other mens judgements very good, as Omphalius euerie where, Sadoletus in many places, yea also my frende Osorius, namelie in his Epistle to the Queene & in his whole booke de Iusticia, haue so ouer reached the selues, in making trew difference in the poyntes afore rehearsed, as though they had bene brought vp in some schole in Asia, to learne to decline rather then in Athens with Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes, (from whence Tullie fetched his eloquence) to vnderstand, what in euerie matter, to be spoken or written on, is, in verie deede, Nimium, Satis, Parum, that is for to say, to all considerations, Decorum, which, as it is the hardest point, in all learning, so is it the fairest and onelie marke, that scholers, in all their studie, must alwayes shote at, if they purpose an other day to be, either sounde in Religion, or wise and discrete in any vocation of the common wealth.

Agayne, in the lowest degree, it is no low point of learnyng and iudgement for a Scholemaster, to make trewe difference betwixt

| Humile & depressum: | Lene & remissum: | Siccum & aridum: | Exile & macrum: | Inaffectatum & neglectum.

In these poyntes, some, louing MelanEthon well, as he was well worthie, but yet not considering well nor wiselie, how he of nature, and all his life and studie by iudgement was wholly spent in genere Disciplinabili, that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainlie and aptlie schole matters, and therfore imployed thereunto a fitte, sensible, and caulme kinde of speaking and writing, some I say, with very well louyng, but not with verie well weying MelanEthones doinges, do frame them selues a style, cold, leane, and weake, though the matter be neuer so warme & earnest, not moch vnlike vnto one, that had a pleasure, in a roughe, raynie, winter

day, to clothe him selfe with nothing els, but a demie, bukram cassok, plaine without plites, and single with out lyning: which will neither beare of winde nor wether, nor yet kepe out the sunne, in any hote day.

Some suppose, and that by good reason, that Melancthon

Paraphrasis in vse of teaching, hath hurt Melanchtons stile in writing.

him selfe came to this low kinde of writing, by vsing ouer moch Paraphrasis in reading: For studying therbie to make euerie thing streight and easie, in smothing and playning all things to much, neuer leaueth, whiles the sence it selfe be left, both lowse and lasie. And some of those Paraphrasis of Melantihon be set out in Printe, as,

Pro Archia Poeta, & Marco Marcello: But a scholer, by myne opinion, is better occupied in playing or sleping, than in spendyng time, not onelie vainlie but also harmefullie, in soch a kinde of exercise.

If a Master woulde haue a perfite example to folow, how, in Genere sublimi, to auoide Nimium, or in Mediocri, to atteyne Satis, or in Humili, to exchew Parum, let him read diligently for the first, Secundam Philippicam, for the meane, Cicero. De Natura Deorum, and for the lowest, Partitiones. Or, if in an other tong, ye looke for like example, in like perfection, for all those three degrees, read Pro Demost-Ctesiphonte, Ad Leptinem, & Contra Olympiodorum, henes. and, what witte, Arte, and diligence is hable to affourde, ye shall plainely see.

For our tyme, the odde man to performe all three perfitlie, whatsoeuer he doth, and to know the way to do them skilfullie, whan so euer he list, is, in my poore opinion, Ioan. Stur. Ioannes Sturmius.

He also councelleth all scholers to beware of *Paraphrasis*, except it be, from worse to better, from rude and barbarous, to proper and pure latin, and yet no man to exercise that neyther, except soch one, as is alreadie furnished with plentie of learning, and grounded with stedfast judgement before.

All theis faultes, that thus manie wise men do finde with the exercise of Paraphrasis, in turning the best latin, into other, as good as they can, that is, ye may be sure, into a great deale worse, than it was, both in right choice for proprietie, and trewe placing, for good order is committed also commonlie in all common scholes, by the scholemasters, in tossing and trobling yong wittes (as I sayd in the beginning) with that boocherlie

feare in making of Latins.

Therefore, in place, of Latines for yong scholers, and of Paraphrasis for the masters, I wold have double translation specially vsed. For, in double translating a perfite peece of. Tullie or Cæsar, neyther the scholer in learning, nor ye Master in teaching can erre. A true tochstone, a sure metwand lieth before both their eyes. For, all right cogruitie: proprietie of wordes: order in sentences: the right imitation, to inuent good matter, to dispose it in good order, to confirme it with good reason, to expresse any purpose fitlie and orderlie, is learned thus, both easelie & perfitlie: Yea, to misse somtyme in this kinde of translation, bringeth more proffet, than to hit right, either in Paraphrasi or making of Latins. For though ye say well, in a latin making, or in a Paraphasis, yet you being but in doute, and vncertayne whether ye saie well or no, ye gather and lay vp in memorie, no sure frute of learning thereby: But if ye fault in translation, ye ar easelie taught, how perfitlie to amende it, and so well warned, how after to exchew, all soch faultes againe.

Paraphrasis therefore, by myne opinion, is not meete for Grammer scholes: nor yet verie fitte for yong men in the vniuersitie, vntill studie and tyme, haue bred in them, perfite

learning, and stedfast judgement.

There is a kinde of Paraphrasis, which may be vsed, without all hurt, to moch proffet: but it serueth onely the Greke and not the latin, nor no other tong, as to alter linguam Ionicam aut Doricam into meram Atticam: A notable example there is left vnto vs by a notable learned man Diony: Halicarn: who, in his booke, περὶ συντάξεως, doth translate the goodlie storie of Candaules and Gyges in 1. Herodoti, out of Ionica lingua, into Atticam. Read the place, and ye shall take, both pleasure and proffet, in conference of it. A man, that is exercised in reading, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Demosthenes, in vsing to turne, like places of Herodotus, after like sorte, shold shortlie cum to soch a knowledge, in vnderstanding, speaking, and writing the Greeke tong, as fewe or none hath yet atteyned in England. The like exercise out of Dorica lingua may be also vsed, if a man take that litle booke of Plato, Timæus Locrus, de Animo et

natura, which is writte Dorice, and turne it into soch Greeke, as Plato vseth in other workes. The booke, is but two leaues: and the labor wold be, but two weekes: but surelie the proffet, for easie vnderstanding, and trewe writing the Greeke tonge, wold conterualle wyth the toile, that som men taketh, in

otherwise coldlie reading that tonge, two yeares.

And yet, for the latin tonge, and for the exercise of Paraphrasis, in those places of latin, that can not be bettered, if some yong man, excellent of witte, corragious in will, lustie of nature, and desirous to contend euen with the best latin, to better it, if he can, surelie I commend his forwardnesse, and for his better instruction therein, I will set before him, as notable an example of Paraphrasis, as is in Record of learning. Gicero him selfe, doth contend, in two sondrie places, to expresse one matter, with diuerse wordes: and that is Paraphrasis, saith Quintillian. The matter I suppose, is taken out of Panætius: and therefore being translated out of Greeke at diuers times, is vetered for his purpose, with diuers wordes and formes: which kinde of exercise, for perfite learned men, is verie profitable.

2. De Finib.

a. Homo enim Rationem habet à natura menti datam quæ, & causas rerum et consecutiones videt, & similitudines, transfert, & disiuncta coniungit, & cum præsentibus futura copulat, omnema complectitur vitæ consequentis statum. b. Eadema ratio facit hominem hominum appetentem, cuma his, natura, & sermone in vsu congruentem: vt profectus à caritate domesticorū ac suorum, currat longius, & se implicet, primò Ciuiū, deinde omnium mortalium societati: vta non sibi soli se natū meminerit, sed patriæ, sed suis, vt exigua pars ipsi relinquatur. c. Et quoniā eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini veri inueniendi, quod facillimè apparet, cum vacui curis, etiam quid in cælo fiat, scire auemus, & c.

1. Officiorum.

a. Homo autem, qui rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, & causas rerum videt, earumg progressus, et quasi antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines, comparat, rebusg præsentibus adiungit, atg annectit futuras, facile totius vitæ cursum videt, ad

eamque degendam præparat res necessarias. b. Eademg natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, & ad Orationis, & ad vitæ societatem: ingeneratg imprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati sunt, impellitg vt hominum cætus & celebrari inter se, & sibi obediri velit, ob easg causas studeat parare ea, quæ suppeditent ad cultum & ad victum, nec sibi soli, sed coniugi, liberis, cæterisg quos charos habeat, tuerig debeat. c. Quæ cura exsuscitat etiam animos, & maiores ad rem gerendam facit: imprimisg hominis est propria veri inquisitio atg inuestigatio: ita cum sumus neceffarijs negocijs curisg vacui, tum auemus aliquid videre, audire, addiscere, cognitionemg rerum mirabilium. &c.

The conference of these two places, conteining so excellent a peece of learning, as this is, expressed by so worthy a witte, as Tullies was, must needes bring great pleasure and proffit to him, that maketh trew counte, of learning and honestie. But if we had the Greke Author, the first Patterne of all, and therby to see, how Tullies witte did worke at diuerse tymes, how, out of one excellent Image, might be framed two other, one in face and fauor, but somwhat differing in forme, figure, and color, surelie, such a peece of workemanship compared with the Paterne it selfe, would better please the ease of honest, wise, and learned myndes, that two of the fairest Venusses, that euer Apelles made.

And thus moch, for all kinde of *Paraphrasis*, fitte or vnfit, for Scholers or other, as I am led to thinke, not onelie, by mine owne experience, but chiefly by the authoritie & iudgement of those, whom I my selfe would gladliest folow, and do counsell all myne to do the same: not contendyng with any other, that will otherwise either thinke or do.

Metaphrasis.

This kinde of exercise is all one with Paraphrasis, saue it is out of verse, either into prose, or into some other kinde of meter: or els, out of prose into verse, which was Socrates exercise and pastime (as Plate reporteth)

when he was in prison, to translate Esopes Fabules
into verse. Quintilian doth greatlie praise also this exercise: but bicause Tullie doth disalow it in yong men, by myne opinion, it were not well to vse it in Grammer Scholes, euen

The second booke teachyng

254

for the selfe same causes, that be recited against Paraphrasis. And therfore, for the vse, or misuse of it, the same is to be thought, that is spoken of Paraphrasis before. This was Sulpitius exercise: and he gathering up therby, a Poeticall kinde of talke, is iustlie named of Cicero, grandis et Tragicus Orator: which I think is spoken, not for his praise, but for other mens warning, to exchew the like faulte. Yet neuertheles, if our Scholemaster for his owne instruction, is desirous, to see a perfite example hereof, I will recite one, which I thinke, no man is so bold, will say, that he can amend it: & that is Chrises the Priestes Oration to the Grekes, in the Hom. I. Il. beginning of Homers Ilias, turned excellentlie Pla. 3. Rep. into prose by Socrates him selfe, and that aduisedlie and purposelie for other to folow: and therfore he calleth this exercise, in the same place, μίμησις, that is, *Imitatio*, which is most trew: but, in this booke, for teachyng sake, I will name it Metaphrasis, reteining the word, that all teachers, in this case, do vse.

Homerus. I. Ἰλιάδ.

ό γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ᾿Αχαιῶν, λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ᾽ ἀπερείσι᾽ ἄποινα, στέμματ᾽ ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου ᾿Απόλλωνος, χρυσέω ἀνὰ σκήπτρω καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας ᾿Αχαιοὺς, ᾿Ατρείδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν.

'Ατρείδαί τε, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐῦκνήμιδες 'Αχαιοὶ, ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν, 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες, ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι· παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λῦσαί τε φίλην, τά τ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι, ἀζόμενοι Διὸς υῖὸν ἑκηβόλον 'Απόλλωνα.

ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν 'Αχαιοί αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα ἀλλ' οὐκ 'Ατρείδη 'Αγαμέμνονι ἥνδανε θυμῷ, ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν.

μή σε, γέρον, κοίλησιν έγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω, ἡ νῦν δηθύνοντ, ἡ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα, μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμη σκῆπτρον, καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο. τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω, πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν, ἡμετέρφ ἐνὶ οἴκφ, ἐν Ἡργεῖ τηλόθι πάτρης ίστὸν ἐποιχομένην, καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν. ἀλλ' ἴθι, μἡ μ' ἐρέθιζε· σαώτερος ῶς κε νέηαι. ῶς ἔφατ'· ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων, καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθφ· βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἠρᾶθ' ὁ γεραιός 'Απόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠὕκομος τέκε Λητώ· κλῦθί μευ, ἀργυρότοξ', δς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας, κίλλαν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἰφι ἀνάσσεις, σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα, ἡ εἰ δή ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα ταύρων, ἠδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ· τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῦσι βέλεσσιν.

Socrates in 3. de Rep. saith thus, Φράσω γὰρ ἄνευ μέτρου, οὐ γάρ εἰμι ποιητικός.

ήλθεν δ Χρύσης της τε θυγατρός λύτρα φέρων, κα**ι ίκ**έτης τῶν 'Αχαιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων: καὶ εὕχετο, ἐκείνοις μέν τούς θεούς δούναι έλόντας την Τροίαν, αὐτούς δὲ σωθηναι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα οἱ αὐτῷ λῦσαι, δεξαμένους ἄποινα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν αἰδεσθέντας. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι έσέβοντο καὶ συνήνουν, ὁ δὲ ᾿Αγαμέμνων ήγρίαινεν, ἐντελλόμενος νῦν τε ἀπιέναι, καὶ αὖθις μὴ ἐλθεῖν, μὴ αὐτῷ τό τε σκήπτρον, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα οὐκ ἐπαρκέσοι. πρὶν δε λυθήναι αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, ἐν Αργει ἔφη γηράσειν μετὰ οῦ. απιέναι δε εκέλευε, και μη ερεθίζειν, ΐνα σώς οἴκαδε ελθοι. ό δὲ πρεσβύτης ἀκούσας ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ἀπήει σιγή, ἀποχωρήσας δ' έκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πολλά τῷ Απόλλωνι εὕχετο, τάς τε ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλῶν καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ ἀπαιτών, εἴ τι πώποτε ἡ ἐν ναῶν οἰκοδομήσεσιν, ἡ ἐν ἱερῶν θυσίαις κεχαρισμένου δωρήσαιτο. ὧν δη χάριν κατεύχετο τίσαι τους Αχαιούς τὰ δ δακρυα τοῖς ἐκείνου βέλεσιν.

To compare *Homer* and *Plato* together, two wonders of nature and arte for witte and eloquence, is most pleasant and profitable, for a man of ripe iudgement. *Platos* turning of *Homer* in this place, doth not ride a loft in Poeticall termes, but goeth low and soft on foote, as prose and *Pedestris oratio* should do. If *Sulpitius* had had *Platos* consideration, in right

vsing this exercise, he had not deserued the name of Tragicus Orator, who should rather haue studied to expresse vim Demosthenis, than furorem Poætæ, how good so euer he was, whom he did folow.

And therfore would I have our Scholemaster wey well together *Homer* and *Plato*, and marke diligentlie these foure pointes, what is kept: what is added: what is left out: what is changed, either, in choise of wordes, or forme of sentences: which foure pointes, be the right tooles, to handle like a workeman, this kinde of worke: as our Scholer shall better vnderstand, when he hath bene a good while in the Vniuersitie: to which tyme and place, I chiefly remitte this kinde of exercise.

And bicause I euer thought examples to be the best kinde of teaching, I will recite a golden sentece out of that Poete, which is next vnto *Homer*, not onelie in tyme, but also in worthines: which hath bene a paterne for many worthie wittes to follow, by this kind of *Metaphrasis*, but I will content my selfe, with foure workemen, two in *Greke*, and two in *Latin*, soch, as in both the tonges, wiser & worthier, can not be looked for. Surelie, no stone set in gold by most cunning workeme, is in deed, if right counte be made, more worthie the looking on, than this golden sentence, diuerslie wrought vpon, by soch foure excellent Masters.

Hesiodus. 2

 οὖτος μὲν πανάριστος, δς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήση, φρασσάμενος τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω:

2. ἐσθλὸς δ' αὐ κἀκεῖνος, δς εὐ εἰπόντι πίθηται,

3. δς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέη, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ.

¶ Thus rudelie turned into base English.

 That man in wisedome passeth all, to know the best who hath a head:

2. And meetlie wise eeke counted shall, who yeildes him selfe to wise mens read:

3. Who hath no witte, nor none will heare, amongest all fooles the bell may beare.

Sophocles in Antigone.

- Φήμ' ἔγωγε πρεσβεύειν πολὸ,
 Φῦναι τὸν ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέων:
- Εἰ δ' οὖν (φιλεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο μὴ ταύτῃ ῥέπειν),
 Καὶ τῶν λεγόντων εὖ καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν.

Marke the wisedome of Sophocles, in leavyng out the last sentence, because it was not cumlie for the sonne to vse it to his father.

¶ D. Basileus in his Exhortation to youth.

Μέμνησθε τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ὅς φησι, ἄριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' ἐαυτοῦ τὰ δέοντα ξυνορῶντα. 2. Ἑσθλὸν δὲ κάκεῖνον, τὸν τοῖς, παρ' ἐτέρων ὑποδειχεῖσιν ἐπόμενον. 3. τὸν δὲ πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἐπιτηδειον ἀχρεῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἄπαντα.

¶ M. Cic. Pro A. Cluentio.

1. Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum, cui, quod opus sit, ipsi veniat in mentē: 2. Proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inuentis obtemperet. 3. In stulticia contra est: minus enim stultus est is, cui nibil in mentem venit, quam ille, qui, quod stulte alteri venit in mentem comprobat.

Cicero doth not plainlie expresse the last sentence, but doth inuent it fitlie for his purpose, to taunt the folie and simplicitie in his aduersarie Actius, not weying wiselie, the sutle doynges of Chrysogonus and Staienus.

Tit. Liuius in Orat. Minutij. Lib. 22.

1. Sæpe ego audiui milites; eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit: 2. Secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat: 3. Qui, nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere scit, eum extremi esse ingenij.

Now, which of all these foure, Sophocles, S. Basil, Cicero, or Liuie, hath expressed Hesiodus best, the iudgement is as hard, as the workemanship of euerie one is most excellent in deede. An other example out of the Latin tong also I will recite, for the worthines of the workeman therof, and that is Horace, who hath

The second booke teachyng

258

so turned the begynning of Terence Eunuchus, as doth worke in me, a pleasant admiration, as oft so euer, as I compare those two places togither. And though euerie Master, and euerie good Scholer to, do know the places, both in Terence and Horace, yet I will set them heare, in one place togither, that with more pleasure, they may be compared together.

Terentius in Eunucho.

Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem cum accersor vltrò? an potius ita me comparem, non perpeti meretricum contumelias? exclusit: reuocat, redeam? non, si me obsecret. PAR-MENO a little after. Here, quæ res in se neg consilium neg modum habet vllum, eam consilio regere non potes. In Amore hæc omnia insunt vitia, iniuriæ, suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rursum. Incerta hæc si tu postules ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas, q si des operam, vt cum ratione insanias.

T Horatius, lib. Ser. 2. Saty. 3.

Nec nunc cum me vocet vltro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit: reuocat, redeam? non si obsecret. Ecce
Seruus non Paulo sapientior: ô Here, quæ res
Nec modum habet, neg consilium, ratione modòg
Tractari non vult. In amore, hæc sunt mala, bellum,
Pax rursum: hæc si quis tempestatis propè ritu
Mobilia, et cæca fluitantia sorte, laboret
Reddere certa, sibi nihilò plus explicet, ac si
Insanire paret certa ratione, modòg.

This exercise may bring moch profite to ripe heads, and stayd iudgementes: bicause, in traueling in it, the mynde must nedes be verie attentiue, and busilie occupide, in turning and tossing it selfe many wayes: and conferryng with great pleasure, the varietie of worthie wittes and iudgementes togither: But this harme may sone cum therby, and namelie to yong Scholers, lesse, in seeking other wordes, and new forme of sentences, they chance vpon the worse: for the which onelie cause, Cicero thinketh this exercise not to be fit for yong men.

Epitome.

This is a way of studie, belonging, rather to matter, than to wordes: to memorie, than to vtterance: to those that be learned alreadie, and hath small place at all amonges yong scholers in Grammer scholes. It may proffet privately some learned men, but it hath hurt generallie learning it selfe, very moch. For by it have we lost whole *Trogus*, the best part of *T. Livius*, the goodlie Dictionarie of *Pompeius festus*, a great deale of the Civill lawe, and other many notable bookes, for the which cause, I do the more mislike this exercise, both in old and yong.

Epitome, is good privatelie for himselfe that doth worke it, but ill commonlie for all other that vse other mens labor therein: a silie poore kinde of studie, not vnlike to the doing of those poore folke, which neyther till, nor sowe, nor reape themselves, but gleane by stelth, vpon other mens growndes. Soch, have

emptie barnes, for deare yeares.

Grammer scholes haue fewe Epitomes to hurt them, except Epitheta Textoris, and such beggarlie gatheringes, as Horman, whittington, and other like vulgares for making of latines: yea I do wishe, that all rules for yong scholers, were shorter than they be. For without doute, Grammatica it selfe, is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rewles of Grammarians. Epitome hurteth more, in the vniuersities and studie of Philosophie: but most of all, in divinitie it selfe.

In deede bookes of common places be verie necessarie, to induce a man, into an orderlie generall knowledge, how to referre orderlie all that he readeth, ad certa rerum Capita, and not wander in studie. And to that end did P. Lombardus the master of sentences and Ph. Melansthon in our daies, write two notable bookes of common places.

But to dwell in *Epitomes* and bookes of common places, and not to binde himselfe dailie by orderlie studie, to reade with all diligence, principallie the holyest scripture and withall, the best Doctors, and so to learne to make trewe difference betwixt, the authoritie of the one, and the Counsell of the other, maketh so many seeming, and sonburnt ministers as we have, whose

learning is gotten in a sommer heat, and washed away, with a Christmas snow againe: who neuerthelesse, are lesse to be blamed, than those blind bussardes, who in late yeares, of wilfull maliciousnes, would neyther learne themselues, nor could teach others, any thing at all.

Paraphrasis hath done lesse hurt to learning, than Epitome: for no Paraphrasis, though there be many, shall neuer take away Dauids Psalter. Erasmus Paraphrasis being neuer so good, shall neuer banishe the new Testament. And in an other schole, the Paraphrasis of Brocardus, or Sambucus, shall neuer take Aristotles Rhetoricke, nor Horace de Arte Poetica, out of learned mens handes.

But, as concerning a schole Epitome, he that wold have an example of it, let him read Lucian περὶ κάλλους which is the verie Epitome of Isocrates oration de laudibus Helenæ, whereby he may learne, at the least, this wise lesson, that a man ought to beware, to be over bold, in altering an excellent mans worke.

Neuertheles, some kinde of *Epitome* may be vsed, by men of skilful iudgement, to the great proffet also of others. As if a wise man would take *Halles* Cronicle, where moch good matter is quite marde with Indenture Englishe, and first change, strange and inkhorne tearmes into proper, and commonlie vsed wordes: next, specially to wede out that, that is superfluous and idle, not onelie where wordes be vainlie heaped one vpon an other, but also where many sentences, of one meaning, be so clowted vp together as though *M. Hall* had bene, not writing the storie of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching schole: surelie a wise learned man, by this way of *Epitome*, in cutting away wordes and sentences, and diminishing nothing at all of the matter, shold leaue to mens vse, a storie, halfe as moch as it was in quantitie, but twise as good as it was, both for pleasure and also commoditie.

An other kinde of *Epitome* may be vsed likewise very well, to moch proffet. Som man either by lustines of nature, or brought by ill teaching, to a wrong iudgement, is ouer full of words, sētences, & matter, & yet all his words be proper, apt & well chosen: all his sētences be rownd and trimlie framed: his whole matter grownded vpon good reason, & stuffed with full argumēts, for his intent & purpose. Yet whe his talke

26 I

the ready way to the Latin tong.

shalbe heard, or his writing be red, of soch one, as is, either of my two dearest frendes, M. Haddon at home, or Iohn Sturmius in Germanie, that Nimium in him, which fooles and vnlearned will most commend, shall eyther of thies two, bite his lippe, or shake his heade at it.

This fulnes as it is not to be misliked in a yong man, so in farder aige, in greater skill, and weightier affaires, it is to be temperated, or else discretion and judgement shall seeme to be wanting in him. But if his stile be still ouer rancke and lustie, as some men being neuer so old and spent by yeares, will still be full of youthfull conditions as was Syr F. Bryan, and euermore wold haue bene: soch a rancke and full writer, must vse, if he will do wiselie the exercise of a verie good kinde of Epitome, and do, as certaine wise men do, that be ouer fat and fleshie: who leaving their owne full and plentifull table, go to soiorne abrode from home for a while, at the temperate diet of some sober man: and so by litle and litle, cut away the grosnesse that is in them. As for an example: If Osorius would leave of his lustines in striuing against S. Austen, and his ouer rancke rayling against poore Luther, and the troth of Gods doctrine, and give his whole studie, not to write any thing of his owne for a while, but to traslate Demosthenes, with so straite, fast, & temperate a style in latine, as he is in Greeke, he would becume so perfit & pure a writer, I beleue, as hath bene fewe or none sence Ciceroes dayes: And so, by doing himself and all learned moch good, do others lesse harme, & Christes doctrine lesse iniury, that he doth: & with all, wyn vnto himselfe many worthy frends, who agreing with him gladly, in ye loue & liking of excellent learning, are sorie to see so worthie a witte, so rare eloquence, wholie spent and consumed, in striuing with God and good men.

Emonges the rest, no man doth lament him more than I, not onelie for the excellent learning that I see in him, but also bicause there hath passed privatelie betwixt him and me, sure tokens of moch good will, and frendlie opinion, the one toward the other. And surelie the distance betwixt London and Lysbon, should not stoppe, any kinde of frendlie dewtie, that I could, eyther shew to him, or do to his, if the greatest matter of all did not in certeyne pointes, separate our myndes.

And yet for my parte, both toward him, and diuerse others

here at home, for like cause of excellent learning, great wisdome, and gentle humanitie, which I have seene in them, and felt at their handes my selfe, where the matter of difference is mere conscience in a quiet minde inwardlie, and not contentious malice with spitefull rayling openlie, I can be content to followe this rewle, in misliking some one thing, not to hate for anie thing els.

But as for all the bloodie beastes, as that fat Boore of the Psal. 80. wood: or those brauling Bulles of Basan: or any lurking Dormus, blinde, not by nature, but by malice, & as may be gathered of their owne testimonie, giuen ouer to blindnes, for giuing ouer God & his word; or soch as be so lustie runnegates, as first, runne from God & his trew doctrine, than, from their Lordes, Masters, & all dewtie, next, fro them selues & out of their wittes, lastly from their Prince, contrey, & all dew allegeace, whether they ought rather to be pitied of good men, for their miserie, or contemned of wise men, for their malicious folie, let good and wise men determine.

And to returne to *Epitome* agayne, some will iudge moch boldnes in me, thus to iudge of *Osorius* style: but wise men do know, that meane lookers on, may trewelie say, for a well made Picture: This face had bene more cumlie, if that hie redde in the cheeke, were somwhat more pure sanguin than it is: and yet the stander by, can not amend it himselfe by any way.

And this is not written to the dispraise but to the great commendation of Osorius, because Tullie himselfe had the same fulnes in him: and therefore went to Rodes to cut it away: and saith himselfe, recepi me domum prope mutatus, nam quasi referuerat iam oratio. Which was brought to passe I beleue, not onelie by the teaching of Molo Appollonius but also by a good way of Epitome, in binding him selfe to translate meros Atticos Oratores, and so to bring his style, from all lowse grosnesse, to soch firme fastnes in latin, as is in Demosthenes in Greeke. And this to be most trew, may easelie be gathered, not onelie of L. Crassus talke in 1. de Or. but speciallie of Ciceroes owne deede in translating Demosthenes and Eschines orations $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ $\sigma \tau \epsilon \phi$. to that verie ende and purpose.

And although a man growndlie learned all readie, may take moch proffet him selfe in vsing, by Epitome, to draw other mens

workes for his owne memorie sake, into shorter rowme, as Conterus hath done verie well the whole Metamorphosis of Ouid, & Dauid Cythræus a great deale better, the ix. Muses of Herodotus, and Melanchthon in myne opinion, far best of all, the whole storie of Time, not onelie to his own vse, but to other mens proffet and hys great prayse, yet, Epitome is most necessarie of all in a mans owne writing, as we learne of that noble Poet Virgill, who, if Donatus say trewe, in writing that perfite worke of the Georgickes, vsed dailie, when he had written 40. or 50. verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and pollishing of them, till he had brought them to the nomber of x. or xij.

And this exercise, is not more nedefullie done in a great worke, than wiselie done, in your common dailie writing, either of letter, or other thing else, that is to say, to peruse diligentlie, and see and spie wiselie, what is alwaies more than nedeth: For, twenty to one, offend more, in writing to moch, than to litle: euen as twentie to one, fall into sicknesse, rather by ouer moch fulnes, than by anie lacke or emptinesse. And therefore is he alwaies the best English Physition, that best can geue a purgation, that is, by way of *Epitome*, to cut all ouer much away. And surelie mens bodies, be not more full of ill humors, than commonlie mens myndes (if they be yong, lustie, proude, like and loue them selues well, as most men do) be full of fansies, opinions, errors, and faultes, not onelie in inward inuention, but also in all their vtterance, either by pen or taulke.

And of all other men, euen those that haue ye inuentiuest heades, for all purposes, and roundest tonges in all matters and places (except they learne and vse this good lesson of *Epitome*) commit commonlie greater faultes, than dull, staying silent men do. For, quicke inuentors, and faire readie speakers, being boldned with their present habilitie to say more, and perchance better to, at the soden for that present, than any other can do, vse lesse helpe of diligence and studie than they ought to do: and so haue in them commonlie, lesse learning, and weaker iudgement, for all deepe considerations, than some duller heades, and slower tonges haue.

And therefore, readie speakers, generallie be not the best, playnest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest iudgers in weightie affaires, bicause they do not tarry to weye and iudge all thinges, as they should: but having their heades over full of

matter, be like pennes ouer full of incke, which will soner blotte, than make any faire letter at all. Tyme was, whan I had experience of two Ambassadors in one place, the one of a hote head to inuent, and of a hastie hand to write, the other, colde and stayd in both: but what difference of their doinges was made by wise men, is not vnknowne to some persons. The Bishop of Winchester Steph: Gardiner had a quicke head, and a readie tong, and yet was not the best writer in England. Cicero in Brutus doth wiselie note the same in Serg: Galbo, and Q. Hortentius, who were both, hote, lustie, and plaine speakers, but colde, lowse, and rough writers: And Tullie telleth the cause why, saying, wha they spake, their tong was naturally caried with full tyde & wynde of their witte: whan they wrote their head was solitarie, dull, and caulme, and so their style was blonte, and their writing colde: Quod vitium, sayth Cicero, peringeniosis hominibus neg satis doctis plerumg accidit.

And therfore all quick inuentors, & readie faire speakers, must be carefull, that, to their goodnes of nature, they adde also in any wise, studie, labor, leasure, learning, and iudgement, and than they shall in deede, passe all other, as I know some do, in whome all those qualities are fullie planted, or else if they giue ouer moch to their witte, and ouer litle to their labor and learning, they will sonest ouer reach in taulke, and fardest cum behinde in writing whatsoeuer they take in hand. The methode of *Epitome* is most necessarie for soch kinde of men. And thus much concerning the vse or misuse of all kinde of *Epitomes* in matters of learning.

imitatio.

Imitation, is a facultie to expresse liuelie and perfitelie that example: which ye go about to folow. And of it selfe, it is large and wide: for all the workes of nature, in a maner be examples for arte to folow.

But to our purpose, all languages, both learned and mother tonges, be gotten, and gotten onelie by *Imitation*. For as ye vse to heare, so ye learne to speake: if ye heare no other, ye speake not your selfe: and whome ye onelie heare, of them ye onelie learne.

And therefore, if ye would speake as the best and wisest do,

the ready way to the Latin tong.

ye must be conuersant, where the best and wisest are: but if yow be borne or brought vp in a rude contrie, ye shall not chose but speake rudelie: the rudest man of all knoweth this to be trewe.

Yet neuerthelesse, the rudenes of common and mother tonges, is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest contrie, and most barbarous mother language, many be found can speake verie wiselie: but in the Greeke and latin tong, the two onelie learned tonges, which be kept, not in common taulke, but in priuate bookes, we finde alwayes, wisdome and eloquence, good matter and good vtterance, neuer or seldom a sonder. For all soch Authors, as be fullest of good matter and right iudgement in doctrine, be likewise alwayes, most proper in wordes, most apte in sentence, most plaine and pure in vttering the same.

And contrariwise, in those two tonges, all writers, either in Religion, or any sect of Philosophie, who so euer be founde fonde in judgement of matter, be commonlie found as rude in vttering their mynde. For Stoickes, Anabaptistes, and Friers: with Epicures, Libertines and Monkes, being most like in learning and life, are no fonder and pernicious in their opinions, than they be rude and barbarous in their writinges. not wise, therefore that say, what care I for a mans wordes and vtterance, if his matter and reasons be good. Soch men, say so, not so moch of ignorance, as eyther of some singular pride in themselues, or some speciall malice or other, or for some priuate & perciall matter, either in Religion or other kinde of learning. For good and choice meates, be no more requisite for helthie bodies, than proper and apte wordes be for good matters, and also plaine and sensible vtterance for the best and depest reasons: in which two pointes standeth perfite eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest giftes that God doth geue to man.

Ye know not, what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for wordes, but for matter, and so make a deuorse betwixt the tong and the hart. For marke all aiges: looke vpon the whole course of both the Greeke and Latin tonge, and ye shall surelie finde, that, whan apte and good wordes began to be neglected, and properties of those two tonges to be confounded, than also began, ill deedes to spring: strange maners to oppresse good orders, newe and fond opinions to striue with olde and trewe doctrine, first in Philosophie: and after in Religion: right

iudgement of all thinges to be peruerted, and so vertue with learning is contemned, and studie left of: of ill thoughtes cummeth peruerse iudgement: of ill deedes springeth lewde taulke. Which fower misorders, as they mar mans life, so

destroy they good learning withall.

But behold the goodnesse of Gods prouidence for learning: all olde authors and sectes of Philosophy, which were fondest in opinion, and rudest in vtterance, as Stoickes and Epicures, first contemned of wise men, and after forgotten of all men, be so consumed by tymes, as they be now, not onelie out of vse, but also out of memorie of man: which thing, I surelie thinke, will shortlie chance, to the whole doctrine and all the bookes of phantasticall Anabaptistes and Friers, and of the beastlie Libertines and Monkes.

Againe behold on the other side, how Gods wisdome hath wrought, that of Academici and Peripatetici, those that were wisest in iudgement of matters, and purest in vttering their myndes, the first and chiefest, that wrote most and best, in either tong, as Plato and Aristotle in Greeke, Tullie in Latin, be so either wholie, or sufficiently left vnto vs, as I neuer knew yet scholer, that gaue himselfe to like, and loue, and folow chieflie those three Authors but he proued, both learned, wise, and also an honest man, if he ioyned with all the trewe doctrine of Gods holie Bible, without the which, the other three, be but fine edge tooles in a fole or mad mans hand.

But to returne to Imitation agayne: There be three kindes

of it in matters of learning.

The whole doctrine of Comedies and Tragedies, is a perfite *imitation*, or faire liuelie painted picture of the life of euerie degree of man. Of this *Imitation* writeth *Plato* at large in 3. de Rep. but it doth not moch belong at this time to our purpose.

The second kind of *Imitation*, is to folow for learning of tonges and sciences, the best authors. Here riseth, emonges proude and enuious wittes, a great controuersie, whether, one or many are to be folowed: and if one, who is that one: Seneca, or Cicero: Salust or Cæsar, and so forth in Greeke and Latin.

The third kinde of *Imitation*, belongeth to the second: as when you be determined, whether ye will follow one or mo, to know perfitlie, and which way to follow that one: in what

place: by what meane and order: by what tooles and instrumentes ye shall do it, by what skill and iudgement, ye shall trewelie discerne, whether ye folow rightlie or no.

This Imitatio, is dissimilis materiei similis tractatio: and also, similis materiei dissimilis tractatio, as Virgill folowed Homer: but the Argument to the one was Vlysses, to the other Eneas. Tullie persecuted Antonie with the same wepons of eloquence, that Demosthenes vsed before against Philippe.

Horace followeth Pindar, but either of them his owne Argument and Person: as the one, Hiero king of Sicilie, the other Augustus the Emperor: and yet both for like respectes, that is, for their coragious stoutnes in warre, and iust gouernment in peace.

One of the best examples, for right *Imitation* we lacke, and that is *Menander*, whom our *Terence*, (as the matter required) in like argument, in the same Persons, with equall eloquence, foote by foote did folow.

Som peeces remaine, like broken Iewelles, whereby men may rightlie esteme, and iustlie lament, the losse of the whole.

Erasmus, the ornament of learning, in our tyme, doth wish that som man of learning and diligence, would take the like paines in Demosthenes and Tullie, that Macrobius hath done in Homer and Virgill, that is, to write out and ioyne together, where the one doth imitate the other. Erasmus wishe is good, but surelie, it is not good enough: for Macrobius gatherings for the Eneidos out of Homer, and Eobanus Hessus more diligent gatherings for the Bucolikes out of Theocritus, as they be not fullie taken out of the whole heape, as they should be, but euen as though they had not sought for them of purpose, but found them scatered here and there by chance in their way, euen so, onelie to point out, and nakedlie to ioyne togither their sentences, with no farder declaring the maner and way, how the one doth folow the other, were but a colde helpe, to the encrease of learning.

But if a man would take this paine also, whan he hath layd two places, of *Homer* and *Virgill*, or of *Demosthenes* and *Tullie* togither, to teach plainlie withall, after this sort.

I. Tullie reteyneth thus moch of the matter, thies sentences, thies wordes:

- 2. This and that he leaueth out, which he doth wittelie to this end and purpose.
 - 3. This he addeth here.
 - 4. This he diminisheth there.
- 5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there.
- 6. This he altereth and changeth, either, in propertie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one, or other convenient circumstance of the authors present purpose. In thies fewe rude English wordes, are wrapt vp all the necessarie tooles and instrumentes, wherewith trewe Imitation is rightlie wrought withall in any tonge. Which tooles, I openlie confesse, be not of myne owne forging, but partlie left vnto me by the cunningest Master, and one of the worthiest Ientlemen that euer England bred, Syr Iohn Cheke: partelie borowed by me out of the shoppe of the dearest frende I haue out of England, Io. St. And therefore I am the bolder to borow of him, and here to leave them to other, and namelie to my Children: which tooles, if it please God, that an other day, they may be able to use rightlie, as I do wish and daylie pray, they may do, I shal be more glad, than if I were able to leaue them a great quantitie of land.

This foresaide order and doctrine of *Imitation*, would bring forth more learning, and breed vp trewer iudgement, than any other exercise that can be vsed, but not for yong beginners, bicause they shall not be able to consider dulie therof. And trewelie, it may be a shame to good studentes who having so faire examples to follow, as *Plato* and *Tullie*, do not vse so wise wayes in folowing them for the obteyning of wisdome and learning, as rude ignorant Artificers do, for gayning a small commoditie. For surelie the meanest painter vseth more witte, better arte, greater diligence, in hys shoppe, in folowing the Picture of any meane mans face, than commonlie the best studentes do, even in the vniversitie, for the atteining of learning it selfe.

Some ignorant, vnlearned, and idle student: or some busie looker vpon this litle poore booke, that hath neither will to do good him selfe, nor skill to iudge right of others, but can lustelie contemne, by pride and ignorance, all painfull diligence and right order in study, will perchance say, that I am to precise, to

curious, in marking and piteling thus about the imitation of others: and that the olde worthie Authors did neuer busie their heades and wittes, in following so preciselie, either the matter what other men wrote, or els the maner how other men wrote. They will say, it were a plaine slauerie, & iniurie to, to shakkle and tye a good witte, and hinder the course of a mas good nature with such bondes of seruitude, in following other.

Except soch men thinke them selues wiser then *Cicero* for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turne a new leafe.

The best booke that euer Tullie wrote, by all mens iudgement, and by his owne testimonie to, in writing wherof, he employed most care, studie, learnyng and iudgement, is his booke de Orat. ad Q. F. Now let vs see, what he did for the matter, and also for the maner of writing therof. For the whole booke consisteth in these two pointes onelie: In good matter, and good handling of the matter. And first, for the matter, it is whole Aristotles, what so euer Antonie in the second, and Crassus in the third doth teach. Trust not me, but beleue Tullie him selfe, who writeth so, first, in that goodlie long Epistle ad P. Lentulum, and after in diuerse places ad Atticum. And in the verie booke it selfe, Tullie will not haue it hidden, but both Catulus and Crassus do oft and pleasantly lay that stellth to Antonius charge. Now, for the handling of the matter, was Tullie so precise and curious rather to follow an other mans Paterne, than to inuent some newe shape him selfe, namelie in that booke, wherin he purposed, to leave to posteritie, the glorie of his witte? yea forsoth, that he did. And this is not my gessing and gathering, nor onelie performed by Tullie in verie deed, but vttered also by Tullie in plaine wordes: to teach other men thereby, what they should do, in taking like matter in hand.

And that which is specially to be marked, Tullie doth vtter plainlie his conceit and purpose therein, by the mouth of the wisest man in all that companie: for sayth Scauola him selfe, Cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phadro Platonis &c.

And furder to vnderstand, that Tullie did not obiter and bichance, but purposelie and mindfullie bend him selfe to a precise and curious Imitation of Plato, concernyng the shape

and forme of those bookes, marke I pray you, how curious Tullie is to vtter his purpose and doyng therein, writing thus to Atticus.

Quod in his Oratorijs libris, quos tantopere laudas, personam desideras Scæuolæ, non eam temerè dimoui: Sed feci idem, quod in moditela Deus ille noster Plato, cum in Piræeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum locupletem & festiuum Senem, quoad primus ille sermo haberetur, adest in disputando senex: Deinde, cum ipse quog commodissimè locutus esset, ad rem diuina dicit se velle discedere, neg postea reuertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore, si hominem id ætatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinuisset: Multo ego satius hoc mihi cauendum putaui in Scæuola, qui & ætate et valetudine erat ea qua meministi, & his honoribus, vt vix satis decorum videretur eum plures dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus à Scæuolæ studijs: reliqui libri texvologiav habent, vt scis. Huic ioculatoriæ disputationi senem illum vt noras, interesse sanè nolui.

If Cicero had not opened him selfe, and declared hys owne thought and doynges herein, men that be idle, and ignorant, and enuious of other mens diligence and well doinges, would have sworne that Tullie had never mynded any soch thing, but that of a precise curiositie, we fayne and forge and father soch thinges of Tullie, as he never ment in deed. I write this, not for nought: for I have heard some both well learned, and otherwayes verie wise, that by their lustie misliking of soch diligence, have drawen back the forwardnes of verie good wittes. But even as such men them selves, do sometymes stumble vpon doyng well by chance and benefite of good witte, so would I have our scholer alwayes able to do well by order of learnyng and right skill of iudgement.

Concernyng Imitation, many learned men haue written, with moch diuersitie for the matter, and therfore with great contrarietie and some stomacke amongest them selues. I haue read as many as I could get diligentlie, and what I thinke of euerie one of them, I will freelie say my mynde. With which freedome I trust good men will beare, bicause it shall tend to neither spitefull nor harmefull controuersie.

In Tullie, it is well touched, shortlie taught, not fullie declared by Ant. in 2. de Orat: and afterward in Orat. ad Brutum, for the liking and misliking

of Isocrates: and the contrarie iudgement of Tullie against Caluus, Brutus, and Calidius, de genere dicendi Attico & Asiatico.

Dionis. Halic. περί μιμήσεως. I feare is lost: which Author, next Aristotle, Plato, and Tullie, of all Dio. Haliother, that write of eloquence, by the iudgement of them that be best learned, deserueth the next prayse and place.

Quintilian writeth of it, shortly and coldlie for the matter, yet hotelie and spitefullie enough, agaynst the

Imitation of Tullie.

Erasmus, beyng more occupied in spying other mens faultes, than declaryng his owne aduise, is mistaken of many, to the great hurt of studie, for his authoritie

sake. For he writeth rightlie, rightlie vnderstanded: he and Longolius onelie differing in this, that the one seemeth to give ouermoch, the other ouer litle, to him, whom they both, best loued, and chiefly allowed of all other.

Budæus in his Commentaries roughlie and obscurelie, after his kinde of writyng: and for the matter, Budæus. carved somwhat out of the way in ouermuch

misliking the Imitation of Tullie.

Phil. Melanethon, learnedlie and trewlie.

Camerarius largely with a learned judgement, but somewhat confusedly, and with ouer rough a stile.

Ph. Melanch.

Ioa. Cā-

Sambucus, largely, with a right iudgement but somewhat a crooked stile. Sābucus.

Other haue written also, as Cortesius to Politian, and that verie well: Bembus ad Picum great deale better, but Ioan. Sturmius de Nobilitate literata, & de Amissa dicendi ratione, farre best of all, in myne opinion, that euer tooke

Cortesius. P. Bembus. Ioan. Stur-

this matter in hand. For all the rest, declare chiefly this point, whether one, or many, or all, are to be followed: but Sturmius onelie hath most learnedlie declared, who is to be followed, what is to be followed, and the best point of all, by what way & order, trew Imitatio is rightlie to be exercised. And although Sturmius herein doth farre passe all other, yet hath he not so fullie and perfitelie done it, as I do wishe he had, and as I know he could. For though he hath done it perfitelie for precept, yet hath he

not done it perfitelie enough for example: which he did, neither for lacke of skill, nor by negligence, but of purpose, contêted with one or two examples, bicause he was mynded in those two bookes, to write of it both shortlie, and also had to touch other matters.

Barthol. Riccius Ferrariensis also hath written learnedlie, diligentlie and verie largelie of this matter euen as hee did before verie well de Apparatu linguæ Lat. He writeth the better in myne opinion, bicause his whole doctrine, iudgement, and order, semeth to be borowed out of Io. Stur. bookes. He addeth also examples, the best kinde of teaching: wherein he doth well, but not well enough: in deede, he committeth no faulte, but yet, deserueth small praise. He is content with the meane, and followeth not the best: as a man, that would feede vpon Acornes, whan he may eate, as good cheape, the finest wheat bread. He teacheth for example, where and how, two or three late Italian Poetes do follow Virgil: and how Virgil him selfe in the storie of Dido, doth wholie Imitate Catullus in the like matter of Ariadna: Wherein I like better his diligence and order of teaching, than his judgemet in choice of examples for Imitation. But, if he had done thus: if he had declared where and how, how oft and how many wayes Virgil doth follow Homer, as for example the coming of Vlysses to Alcynous and Calypso, with the comming of Æneas to Cartage and Dido: Likewise the games running, wrestling, and shoting, that Achilles maketh in Homer, with the selfe same games, that Æneas maketh in Virgil: The harnesse of Achilles, with the harnesse of *Eneas*, and the maner of making of them both by *Vulcane*: The notable combate betwixt Achilles and Hector, with as The going notable a combate betwixt *Eneas* and *Turnus*. downe to hell of Vlysses in Homer, with the going downe to hell of *Eneas* in *Virgil*: and other places infinite mo, as similitudes, narrations, messages, discriptions of persones, places, battels, tempestes, shipwrackes, and common places for diuerse purposes. which be as precisely taken out of *Homer*, as euer did Painter in London follow the picture of any faire personage. And whe thies places had bene gathered together by this way of diligence than to have conferred them together by this order of teaching as, diligently to marke what is kept and vsed in either author, in wordes, in sentences, in matter: what is added: what is left

out: what ordered otherwise, either præponendo, interponendo, or postponendo: And what is altered for any respect, in word, phrase, sentence, figure, reason, argument, or by any way of circumstance: If Riccius had done this, he had not onely bene well liked, for his diligence in teaching, but also iustlie commended for his right iudgement in right choice of examples for the best Imitation.

Riccius also for Imitation of prose declareth where and how Longolius doth folow Tullie, but as for Longolius, I would not have him the patern of our Imitation. In deede: in Longolius shoppe, be proper and faire shewing colers, but as for shape, figure, and naturall cumlines, by the iudgement of best iudging artificers, he is rather allowed as one to be borne withall, than especially commēded, as one chieflie to be folowed.

If Riccius had taken for his exaples, where Tullie him selfe followeth either *Plato* or *Demosthenes*, he had shot than at the right marke. But to excuse Riccius, somwhat, though I can not fullie defend him, it may be sayd, his purpose was, to teach onelie the Latin tong, when thys way that I do wish, to joyne Virgil with Homer, to read Tullie with Demosthenes and Plato, requireth a cunning and perfite Master in both the tonges. It is my wish in deede, and that by good reason: For who so euer will write well of any matter, must labor to expresse that, that is perfite, and not to stay and content himselfe with the meane: yea, I say farder, though it be not vnposible, yet it is verie rare, and meruelous hard, to proue excellent in the Latin tong, for him that is not also well seene in the Greeke tong. Tullie him selfe, most excellent of nature, most diligent in labor, brought vp from his cradle, in that place, and in that tyme, where and whan the Latin tong most florished naturallie in euery mans mouth, yet was not his owne tong able it selfe to make him so cunning in his owne tong, as he was in deede: but the knowledge and *Imitation* of the Greeke tong withall.

This he confesseth himselfe: this he vttereth in many places,

as those can tell best, that vse to read him most.

Therefore thou, that shotest at perfection in the Latin tong, thinke not thy selfe wiser than Tullie was, in choice of the way, that leadeth rightlie to the same: thinke not thy witte better than Tullies was, as though that may serue thee that was not sufficient for him. For even as a hauke flieth not hie with one

wing: euen so a man reacheth not to excellency with one

tong.

I haue bene a looker on in the Cokpit of learning thies many yeares: And one Cock onelie haue I knowne, which with one wing, euen at this day, doth passe all other, in myne opinion, that euer I saw in any pitte in England, though they had two winges. Yet neuerthelesse, to flie well with one wing, to runne fast with one leg, be rather, rare Maistreis moch to be merueled at, than sure examples safelie to be folowed. A Bushop that now liueth, a good man, whose iudgement in Religion I better like, than his opinion in perfitnes in other learning, said once vnto me: we have no nede now of the Greeke tong, when all thinges be translated into Latin. But the good ma vnderstood not, that even the best translation, is, for mere necessitie, but an euill imped wing to flie withall, or a heuie stompe leg of wood to go withall: soch, the hier they flie, the sooner they falter and faill: the faster they runne, the ofter they stumble, and sorer they fall. Soch as will nedes so flie, may flie at a Pye, and catch a Dawe: And soch runners, as commonlie, they shoue and sholder to stand formost, yet in the end they cum behind others & deserue but the hopshakles, if the Masters of the game be right judgers.

Therefore in perusing thus, so many diverse bookes for Imitation, it came into my head that a verie profitable booke might be made de Imitatione, after an other sort, than euer yet was attempted of that matter, conteyning a certaine fewe fitte preceptes,

vnto the which should be gathered and applied plentie of examples, out of the choisest authors of both the tonges. This worke would stand, rather in good diligence, for the gathering, and right iudgement for the apte applying of those examples: than any great learning or vtterance at all.

The doing thereof, would be more pleasant, than painfull, & would bring also moch proffet to all that should read it, and great praise to him would take it in hand, with iust desert of thankes.

Erasmus, giuyng him selfe to read ouer all Authors Greke

Erasmus and Latin, seemeth to have prescribed to him selfe this order of readyng: that is, to note out by the way, three speciall pointes: All Adagies,

all similitudes, and all wittie sayinges of most notable personages: And so, by one labour, he left to posteritie, three notable bookes, & namelie two his Chiliades, Apophthegmata and Similia. Likewise, if a good student would bend him selfe to read diligently over Tullie and with him also at

diligently ouer Tullie, and with him also at the same tyme, as diligetly Plato, & Xenophō, with his bookes of Philosophie, Isocrates, & Demosthenes with his orations, & Aristotle with his Rhetorickes: which fine of all other, be

Plato. Xenophon. Isocrates. Demosth. Aristotles.

Cicero. -

those, whom Tullie best loued, & specially followed: & would marke diligetly in Tullie, where he doth exprimere or effingere (which be the verie propre wordes of Imitation) either, Copiam Platonis or venustate Xenophontis, suauitatem Isocratis, or vim Demosthenis, propriam & puram subtilitatem Aristotelis, and not onelie write out the places diligentlie, and lay them together orderlie, but also to conferre them with skilfull iudgement by those few rules, which I haue expressed now twise before: if that diligence were taken, if that order were vsed, what perfite knowledge of both the tonges, what readie and pithie vtterance in all matters, what right and deepe iudgement in all kinde of learnyng would follow, is scarse credible to be beleued.

These bookes, be not many, nor long, nor rude in speach, nor meane in matter, but next the Maiestie of Gods holie word, most worthie for a man, the louer of learning and honestie, to spend his life in. Yea, I have heard worthie M. Cheke many tymes say: I would have a good student passe and iorney through all Authors both Greke and Latin: but he that will dwell in these few bookes onelie: first, in Gods holie Bible, and than ioyne with it, Tullie in Latin, Plato, Aristotle: Xenophon: Isocrates: and Demosthenes in Greke: must nedes prove an excel-

lent man.

Some men alreadie in our dayes, haue put to their helping handes, to this worke of Imitation. As Periperionius.

onius, Hēr. Stephanus in dictionario Ciceroniano, H. Steph.

and P. Victorius most praiseworthelie of all, in P. Victoritat his learned worke conteyning xxv. bookes de ius.

varia lectione: in which bookes be ioyned diligentlie together the best Authors of both the tonges where one doth seeme to imitate an other.

But all these, with Macrobius, Hessus, and other, be no

more but common porters, caryers, and bringers of matter and stuffe togither. They order nothing: They lay before you, what is done: they do not teach you, how it is done: They busie not them selues with forme of buildyng: They do not declare, this stuffe is thus framed by Demosthenes, and thus and thus by Tullie, and so likewise in Xenophon, Plato and Isocrates and Aristotle. For ioyning Virgil with Homer I have sufficientlie declared before.

The like diligence I would wish to be taken in Pindar and

Horace an equal match for all respectes.

Pindarus. In Tragedies, (the goodliest Argument of all. Horatius. and for the vse, either of a learned preacher, or a Ciuill Ientleman, more profitable than Homer, Pindar, Virgill, and Horace: yea comparable in myne opinion, with the doctrine of Aristotle, Plato, and Xenophon,) the Grecians, Sophocles. Sophocles and Euripides far ouer match our Seneca, Euripides. Seneca. in Latin, namely in olkovoula et Decoro, although Senacaes elocutio and verse be verie commendable for his tyme. And for the matters of Hercules, Thebes, Hippolytus, and Troie, his Imitation is to be gathered into the same booke, and to be tryed by the same touchstone, as is spoken before.

In histories, and namelie in Liuie, the like diligence of Imitation, could bring excellent learning, and breede stayde

iudgement, in taking any like matter in hand.

Onely Liuie were a sufficient taske for one mans studie, Tit. Liuius. to compare him, first with his fellow for all respectes, Dion. Halicarnassæus: who both, liued in Dion. Halicarn. one tyme: tooke both one historie in hande to write: deserued both like prayse of learnyng and eloquence. Than with Polybius that wise writer, whom Liuie Polibius. professeth to follow: & if he would denie it, yet it is plaine, that the best part of the thyrd Decade in Liuie, is in a maner translated out of the thyrd and rest of Thucidides. Polibius: Lastlie with Thucydides, to whose Imitation Livie is curiouslie bent, as may well appeare by that one Oration of those of Campania, asking aide of the 1 Decad. Romanes agaynst the Samnites, which is wholie Lib. 7. taken, Sentence, Reason, Argument, and order, out of the Oration of Corcyra, asking like aide of Thucid. 1. the Athenienses against them of Corinth. If some

diligent student would take paynes to compare them togither, he should easelie perceiue, that I do say trew. A booke, thus wholie filled with examples of Imitatiō, first out of Tullie, compared with Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes and Aristotle: than out of Virgil and Horace, with Homer and Pindar: next out of Seneca with Sophocles and Euripides: Lastlie out of Liuie, with Thucydides, Polibius and Halicarnassæus, gathered with good diligence, and compared with right order, as I haue expressed before, were an other maner of worke for all kinde of learning, & namely for eloquence, than be those cold gatheringes of Macrobius, Hessus, Perionius, Stephanus, and Victorius, which may be vsed, as I sayd before, in this case, as porters and caryers, deseruing like prayse, as soch men do wages; but onely Sturmius is he, out of whō, the trew suruey and whole workemanship is speciallie to be learned.

I trust, this my writyng shall giue some good student occasion, to take some peece in hand of this worke of Imitation. And as I had rather haue any do it, than my selfe, yet surelie my selfe rather than none at all.

And by Gods grace, if God do lend me life, with health, free laysure and libertie, with good likyng

recta imitandi ratione.

and a merie heart, I will turne the best part of my studie and tyme, to toyle in one or other peece of this worke of Imitation.

This diligence to gather examples, to give light and vnderstandyng to good preceptes, is no new invention, but speciallie vsed of the best Authors and oldest writers. For Aristotle him selfe, (as Diog. Laertius declareth) when he had written that goodlie booke of the Topickes, did gather out of stories and Orators, so many examples as filled xv. bookes, onelie to expresse the rules of his Topickes. These were the

Commentaries, that Aristotle thought fit for hys Topickes: And therfore to speake as I thinke, I neuer saw yet any Commentarie vpon Aristotles Logicke, either in Greke or Latin, that euer I lyked, bicause they be rather spent in declarying scholepoynt rules, than in gathering fit examples

Commentarij Græci et Latini in Dialect. Aristotelis.

for vse and vtterance, either by pen or talke. For preceptes in all Authors, and namelie in *Aristotle*, without applying vnto them, the Imitation of examples, be hard, drie, and cold, and therfore barrayn, vnfruitfull and vnpleasant. But *Aristotle*,

namelie in his Topickes and Elenches, should be, not onelie fruitfull, but also pleasant to, if examples out of Plate, and other good Authors, were diligentlie gathered, and aptlie applied vnto his most perfit preceptes there. Precepta in Aristot. And it is notable, that my frende Sturmius writeth Exempla herein, that there is no precept in Aristotles in Platone. Topickes, wherof plentie of examples be not manifest in Platos workes. And I heare say, that an excellent learned man, Tomitanus in Italie, hath expressed euerie fallacion in Aristotle, with diverse examples out of Plato. Would to God, I might once see, some worthing student of Aristotle and *Plato* in Cambrige, that would into one booke the preceptes of the one, with the examples of the other. For such a labor, were one speciall peece of that worke of Imitation, which I do wishe were gathered together in one Volume.

Cambrige, at my first comming thither, but not at my going away, committed this fault in reading the preceptes of Aristotle without the examples of other Authors: But herein, in my time thies men of worthie memorie, M. Redman, M. Cheke, M. Smith, M. Haddon, M. Watson, put so to their helping handes, as that vniuersitie, and all studentes there, as long as learning shall last, shall be bounde vnto them, if that trade in studie be trewlie followed, which those men left behinde them there.

By this small mention of Cambridge, I am caryed into three imaginations: first, into a sweete remembrance of my tyme spent there: than, into som carefull thoughts, for the greuous alteration that followed sone after: lastlie, into much ioy to heare tell, of the good recourse and earnest forwardnes in all good learning there agayne.

To vtter theis my thoughts somwhat more largelie, were somwhat beside my matter, yet not very farre out of the way, bycause it shall wholy tend to the good encoragement and right consideration of learning, which is my full purpose in writing this litle booke: whereby also shall well appeare this sentence to be most trewe, that onely good men, by their gouernment & example, make happie times, in euery degree and state.

Doctor Nico. Medcalfe, that honorable father, was Master of S. Iohnes Colledge, when I came thether: A man meanelie learned himselfe, but not meanely

affectioned to set forward learning in others. He found that Colledge spending scarse two hundred markes by yeare: he left it spending a thousand markes and more. Which he procured, not with his mony, but by his wisdome; not chargeablie bought by him, but liberallie geuen by others by his meane, for the zeale & honor they bare to learning. And that which is worthy of memorie, all thies giuers were almost Northenmen: who being liberallie rewarded in the seruice of their Prince, bestowed it as liberallie for the good of their Contrie. Som men thought therefore, that D. Medcalfe was parciall to Northrenmen, but sure I am of this, that Northrenme were parciall, in doing more good, and geuing more

lades to ye forderance of learning, than any other contrie me, in those dayes, did: which deede should haue bene, rather an example of goodnes, for other to folowe, than matter of malice, for any to enuie, as some there were that did. Trewly, D. Medcalfe was parciall to none: but indifferent

The parcialitie of Northren men in S. Iohnes College.

to all: a master for the whole, a father to euery one, in that Colledge. There was none so poore, if he had, either wil to goodnes, or wit to learning, that could lacke being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witnes my selfe, that mony many times was brought into yong mens studies by strangers whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy Nicolaus followed the steppes of good olde S. Nicolaus, that learned Bishop. He was a Papist in deede, but would to God, amonges all vs Protestats I might once see but one, that would winne like praise, in doing like good, for the aduauncement of learning and vertue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any yong man, geuen to new learning (as they termed it) went beyond his fellowes, in witte, labor, and towardnes, euen the same, neyther lacked, open praise to encorage him, nor private exhibition to mainteyne hym, as worthy Syr I. Cheke, if he were aliue would beare good witnes and so can many mo. I my selfe one of the meanest of a great number, in that Colledge, because there appeared in me som small shew of towardnes and diligence, lacked not his fauor to forder me in learning.

And being a boy, new Bacheler of arte, I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope: which matter was

than in euery mans mouth, bycause D. Haines and D. Skippe were cum from the Court, to debate the same matter, by preaching and disputation in the vniuersitie. This happed the same tyme, when I stoode to be felow there: my taulke came to D. Medcalfes eare: I was called before him and the Seniores: and after greuous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was geuen to all the felowes, none to be so hardie to geue me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threates, the good father himselfe privilie procured, that I should even than be chosen felow. But, the election being done, he made countinance of great discontentation thereat. This good mans goodnes, and fatherlie discretion, vsed towardes me that one day, shall neuer out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life. And for the same cause, haue I put it here, in this small record of learning. For next Gods prouidence, surely that day, was by that good fathers meanes, Dies natalis, to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learning I haue, and of all the furderance, that hetherto else where I haue obteyned.

This his goodnes stood not still in one or two, but flowed aboundantlie ouer all that Colledge, and brake out also to norishe good wittes in euery part of that vniuersitie: whereby, at this departing thence, he left soch a companie of fellowes and scholers in S. Iohnes Colledge, as can scarse be found now in some whole vniuersitie: which, either for divinitie, on the one side or other, or for Ciuill seruice to their Prince and contrie, haue bene, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole Realme: Yea S. Iohnes did the so florish, as Trinitie college, that Princely house now, at the first erectio, was but Colonia deducta out of S. Ihones, not onelie for their Master, fellowes, and scholers, but also, which is more, for their whole, both order of learning, and discipline of maners: & yet to this day, it neuer tooke Master but such as was bred up before in S. Iohnes: doing the dewtie of a good Colonia to her Metropolis, as the auncient Cities in Greice and some yet in Italie, at this

day, are accustomed to do.

S. Iohnes stoode in this state, vntill those heuie tymes, and that greuous change that chanced. An. 1553. whan mo perfite scholers were dispersed from thence in one moneth, than many yeares can reare vp againe. For, whan Aper de Sylua had passed the seas, and fastned his foote

againe in England, not onely the two faire groues of learning in England were eyther cut vp, by the roote, or troden downe to the ground and wholie went to wracke, but the yong spring there, and euerie where else, was pitifullie nipt and ouertroden by very beastes, and also the fairest standers of all, were rooted vp, and cast into the fire, to the great weakning euen at this day of Christes Chirch in England, both for Religion and

learning.

And what good could chance than to the vniuersities, whan som of the greatest, though not of the wisest nor best learned, nor best men neither of that side, did labor to perswade, that ignorance was better than knowledge, which they ment, not for the laitie onelie, but also for the greatest rable of their spiritualtie, what other pretense openlie so euer they made: and therefore did som of them at Cambrige (whom I will not name openlie,) cause hedge priestes fette oute of the contrie, to be made fellowes in the vniuersitie: saying, in their talke priuilie, and declaring by their deedes openlie, that he was, felow good enough for their tyme, if he could were a gowne and a tipet cumlie, and haue hys crowne shorne faire and roundlie, and could turne his Portesse and pie readilie: whiche I speake not to reproue any order either of apparell, or other dewtie, that may be well and indifferentlie vsed, but to note the miserie of that time, whan the benefites prouided for learning were so fowlie misused. And what was the frute of this seade? Verely, iudgement in doctrine was wholy altered: order in discipline very sore changed: the loue of good learning, began sodenly to wax cold: the knowledge of the tonges (in spite of some that therein had florished) was manifestly contemned: and so, ye way of right studie purposely peruerted: the choice of good authors of mallice confounded. Olde sophistrie (I say not well) not olde, but that new rotten sophistrie began to beard and sholder logicke in her owne tong: yea, I know, that heades were cast together, and counsell deuised, that Duns, with all the rable of barbarous questionistes, should have dispossessed of their place and rowmes, Aristotle, Plato, Tullie, Aristoteles. and Demosthenes, when good M. Redman, and Plato. those two worthy starres of that vniuersitie, Cicero. M. Cheke, and M. Smith, with their scholers, had

brought to florishe as notable in Cambrige, as

Demost.

euer they did in Grece and in Italie: and for the doctrine of those fowre, the fowre pillers of learning, Cambrige than geuing place to no vniuersitie, neither in France, Spaine, Germanie, nor Italie. Also in outward behauiour, than began simplicitie in apparell, to be layd aside: Courtlie galantnes to be taken vp: frugalitie in diet was privately misliked: Towne going to good cheare openly vsed: honest pastimes, joyned with Shoting. labor, left of in the fieldes: vnthrifty and idle games, haunted corners, and occupied the nightes: contention in youth, no where for learning: factions in the elders euery where for trifles. All which miseries at length, by Gods prouidence, had their end 16. Novemb. 1558. Since which tyme, the yong spring hath shot vp so faire, as now there be in Cambrige againe, many goodly plantes (as did well appeare at the Queenes Maiesties late being there) which are like to grow to mightie great timber, to the honor of learning, and great good of their contrie, if they may stand their tyme, as the best plantes there were wont to do: and if som old dotterell trees, with standing ouer nie them, and dropping vpon them, do not either hinder, or crooke their growing, wherein my feare is ye lesse, seing so worthie a Iustice of an Oyre hath the present ouersight of that whole chace, who was himselfe somtym, in the fairest spring that euer was there of learning, one of the forwardest young plantes, in all that worthy College of S. Ihones: who now by grace is growne to soch greatnesse, as, in the temperate and quiet shade of his wisdome, next the prouidece of God, and goodnes of one, in theis our daies, Religio for sinceritie, literæ for order and aduauncement, Respub. for happie and quiet gouernment, haue to great rejoysing of all good men, speciallie reposed them selues.

Now to returne to that Question, whether one, a few, many or all, are to be followed, my aunswere shalbe short: All, for him that is desirous to know all: yea, the worst of all, as Questionistes, and all the barbarous nation of scholemen, helpe for one or other consideration: But in euerie separate kinde of learning and studie, by it selfe, ye must follow, choiselie a few, and chieflie some one, and that namelie in our schole of eloquence, either for penne or talke. And as in portraicture and paintyng wise men chose not that workman, that can onelie make a faire hand, or a well facioned legge but soch one, as can

one all is it

furnish vp fullie, all the fetures of the whole body, of a man, woman and child: and with all is able to, by good skill, to give to euerie one of these three, in their proper kinde, the right forme, the trew figure, the naturall color, that is fit and dew, to the dignitie of a man, to the bewtie of a woman, to the sweetnes of a yong babe: euen likewise, do we seeke soch one in our schole to folow, who is able alwayes, in all matters, to teach plainlie, to delite pleasantlie, and to cary away by force of wise talke, all that shall heare or read him: and is so excellent in deed, as witte is able, or wishe can hope, to attaine vnto: And this not onelie to serue in the Latin or Greke tong, but also in our own English language. But yet, bicause the prouidence of God hath left vnto vs in no other tong, saue onelie in the Greke and Latin tong, the trew preceptes, and perfite examples of eloquence, therefore must we seeke in the Authors onelie of those two tonges, the trewe Paterne of Eloquence, if in any other mother tongue we looke to attaine, either to perfit vtterance of it our selues, or skilfull judgement of it in others.

And now to know, what Author doth medle onelie with some one peece and member of eloquence, and who doth perfitelie make vp the whole bodie, I will declare, as I can call to remembrance the goodlie talke, that I haue had oftentymes, of the trew difference of Authors, with that Ientleman of worthie memorie, my dearest frend, and teacher of all the litle poore learning I haue, Syr Iohn Cheke.

The trew difference of Authors is best knowne, per diversa genera dicendi, that euerie one vsed. And therfore here I will deuide genus dicendi, not into these three, Tenuè, mediocrè, & grande, but as the matter of euerie Author requireth, as

in Genus

{
Poeticum. Historicum. Eommon Philosophicum. Calegories

Oratorium.

These differre one from an other, in choice of wordes, in framyng of Sentences, in handling of Argumentes, and vse of right forme, figure, and number, proper and fitte for euerie matter, and euerie one of these is diuerse also in it selfe, as the first.

fhi cices 284

Poeticum, in

Comicum.

Tragicum.

Epicum.

Melicum.

And here, who soeuer hath bene diligent to read aduisedlie ouer, Terence, Seneca, Virgil, Horace, or els Aristophanes, Sophocles, Homer, and Pindar, and shall diligetly marke the difference they vse, in proprietie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in handlyng of their matter, he shall easelie perceiue, what is fitte and decorum in eueric one, to the trew vse of perfite Imitation. Whan M. Watson in S. Iohns College at Cambrige wrote his excellent Tragedie of Absalon, M. Cheke, he and I, for that part of trew Imitation, had many pleasant talkes togither, in comparing the preceptes of Aristotle and Horace de Arte Poetica. with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles, and Seneca. Few men, in writing of Tragedies in our dayes, haue shot at this marke. Some in England, moe in France, Germanie, and Italie, also haue written Tragedies in our tyme: of the which, not one I am sure is able to abyde the trew touch of Aristotles preceptes, and Euripides examples, saue onely two, that euer I saw, M. Watsons Absalon, and Georgius Buckananus Iephthe. One man in Cambrige, well liked of many, but best liked of him selfe, was many tymes bold and busie, to bryng matters vpon stages, which he called Tragedies. In one, wherby he looked to wynne his spurres, and whereat many ignorant felowes fast clapped their handes, he began the Protasis with Trocheijs Octonarijs: which kinde of verse, as it is but seldome and rare in Tragedies, so is it neuer vsed, saue onelie in Epitasi: whan the Tragedie is hiest and hotest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember ful well what M. Watson merelie sayd vnto me of his blindnesse and boldnes in that behalfe although otherwise. there passed much frendship betwene the. M. Watson had an other maner care of perfection, with a feare and reuerence of the judgement of the best learned: Who to this day would neuer suffer, yet his Absalon to go abroad, and that onelie, bicause, in locis paribus, Anapestus is twise or thrise vsed in stede of *lambus*. A smal faulte, and such one, as perchance would neuer be marked, no neither in Italie nor France. This I write, not so much, to note the first, or praise the last, as to leave in

م ما

memorie of writing, for good example to posteritie, what perfection, in any tyme, was, most diligentlie sought for in like maner, in all kinde of learnyng, in that most worthie College of S. Iohns in Cambrige.

Historicum in

| Diaria. | Annales. | Commentarios. | Iustam Historiam.

For what proprietie in wordes, simplicitie in sentences, plainnesse and light, is cumelie for these kindes, Cæsar and Liuie, for the two last, are perfite examples of Imitation: And for the two first, the old paternes be lost, and as for some that be present and of late tyme, they be fitter to be read once for some pleasure, than oft to be perused, for any good Imitation of them.

Philosophicum in Sermonem, as officia Cic. et Eth. Arist. Contentionem.

As, the Dialoges of Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero: of which kinde of learnyng, and right Imitation therof, Carolus Sigonius hath written of late, both learnedlie and eloquentlie: but best of all my frende *Ioan*. Sturmius in hys Commentaries vpon Gorgias Platonis, which booke I haue in writing, and is not yet set out in Print.

Oratorium in Humile.

Mediocre.
Sublime.

Examples of these three, in the Greke tong, be plentifull & Vivias. Isocrates, and Demosthenes: and Lisias.

Isocrates. perfite, as Lycias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes: and all three, in onelie Demosthenes, in diverse orations as contra Olimpiodorum, in leptinem, & pro Ctesiphonte. And trew it is, that Hermogines writeth

of Demosthenes, that all formes of Eloquence be perfite in him. In Ciceroes Orations, Medium & sublime be most Cicero. excellentlie handled, but Humile in his Orations,

is seldome sene: yet neuerthelesse in other bookes, as in some part of his offices, & specially in Partitionibus, he is comparable in hoc humili & disciplinabili genere, euen with the best that euer

wrote in Greke. But of Cicero more fullie in fitter place. And thus, the trew difference of stiles, in euerie Author, and euerie kinde of learnyng may easelie be knowne by this diuision.

in Genus Poeticum.
Historicum.
Philosophicum.
Oratorium.

Which I thought in this place to touch onelie, not to prosecute at large, bicause, God willyng, in the *Latin* tong, I will fullie handle it, in my booke de *Imitatione*.

Now, to touch more particularlie, which of those Authors, that be now most commonlie in mens handes, will sone affourd you some peece of Eloquence, and what maner a peece of eloquence, and what is to be liked and folowed, and what to be misliked and eschewed in them: and how some agayne will furnish you fully withall, rightly, and wisely considered, somwhat I will write as I haue heard Syr Ibon Cheke many tymes say.

The Latin tong, concerning any part of purenesse of it, from the spring, to the decay of the same, did not endure moch longer, than is the life of a well aged man, scarse one hundred yeares from the tyme of the last Scipio Africanus and Lælius, to the Empire of Augustus. And it is notable, that Velleius Paterculus writeth of Tullie, how that the perfection of eloquence did so remayne onelie in him and in his time, as before him, were few, which might moch delight a man, or after him any, worthy admiration, but soch as Tullie might haue seene, and such as might have seene Tullie. And good cause why: for no perfection is durable. Encrease hath a time, & decay likewise, but all perfit ripenesse remaineth but a momet: as is plainly seen in fruits, plummes and cherries: but more sensibly in flowers, as Roses & such like, and yet as trewlie in all greater matters. For what naturallie, can go no hier, must naturallie yeld & stoupe againe.

Of this short tyme of any purenesse of the Latin tong, for the first fortie yeare of it, and all the tyme before, we have no peece of learning left, saue *Plautus* and *Terence*, with a litle rude vnperfit pamflet of the elder *Cato*. And as for *Plautus*, except the scholemaster be able to make wise and ware choice,

he you here

first in proprietie of wordes, than in framing of Phrases and sentences, and chieflie in choice of honestie of matter, your scholer were better to play, the learne all that is in him. But surelie, if iudgement for the tong, and direction for the maners, be wisely ioyned with the diligent reading of Plautus, than trewlie Plautus, for that purenesse of the Latin tong in Rome, whan Rome did most florish in wel doing, and so thereby, in well speaking also, is soch a plentifull storehouse, for common eloquence, in meane matters, and all private mens affaires, as the Latin tong, for that respect, hath not the like agayne. Whan I remember the worthy tyme of Rome, wherein Plautus did liue, I must nedes honor the talke of that tyme, which we see Plautus doth vse.

Terence is also a storehouse of the same tong, for an other tyme, following soone after, & although he be not so full & plentiful as Plautus is, for multitude of matters, & diversitie of wordes, yet his wordes, be chosen so purelie, placed so orderly, and all his stuffe so neetlie packed vp, and wittely compassed in everie place, as, by all wise mens indgement, he is counted the cunninger workeman, and to have his shop, for the rowme that is in it, more finely appointed, and trimlier ordered, than Plautus is.

Three thinges chiefly, both in Plautus and Terence, are to be specially considered. The matter, the vtterance, the words, the meter. The matter in both, is altogether within the compasse of the meanest mens maners, and doth not stretch to any thing of any great weight at all, but standeth chiefly in vtteryng the thoughtes and conditions of hard fathers, foolish mothers, vnthrifty yong men, craftie seruantes, sotle bawdes, and wille harlots, and so, is moch spent, in finding out fine fetches, and packing vp pelting matters, soch as in London commonlie cum to the hearing of the Masters of Bridewell. Here is base stuffe for that scholer, that should becum hereafter, either a good minister in Religion, or a Ciuill Ientleman in seruice of his Prince and contrie: except the preacher do know soch matters to confute them, whan ignorance surelie in all soch thinges were better for a Ciuill Ientleman, than knowledge. And thus, for matter, both Plautus and Terence, be like meane painters, that worke by halfes, and be cunning onelie, in making the worst part of the picture, as if one were skilfull in painting the bodie of a naked person, from the nauell downward, but

nothing else.

For word and speach, *Plautus* is more plentifull, and *Terence* more pure and proper: And for one respect, Terence is to be embraced aboue all that euer wrote in hys kinde of argument: Bicause it is well known, by good recorde of learning, and that by Ciceroes owne witnes that some Comedies bearing Terence name, were written by worthy Scipio, and wise Lælius, and namely Heauton: and Adelphi. And therefore as oft as I reade those Comedies, so oft doth sound in myne eare, the pure fine talke of Rome, which was used by the floure of the worthiest nobilitie that euer Rome bred. Let the wisest man, and best learned that liueth, read aduisedlie ouer, the first scene of Heauton, and the first scene of Adelphi, and let him consideratlie iudge, whether it is the talke of a seruile stranger borne, or rather even that milde eloquent wise speach, which Cicero in Brutus doth so lively expresse in Lælius. And yet neuerthelesse, in all this good proprietie of wordes, and purenesse of phrases which be in Terence, ye must not follow him alwayes in placing of them, bicause for the meter sake, some wordes in him, somtyme, be driuen awrie, which require a straighter placing in plaine prose, if ye will forme, as I would ye should do, your speach and writing, to that excellent perfitnesse, which was onely in Tullie, or onelie in Tullies tyme.

The meter and verse of *Plautus* and *Terence* be verie meane, and not to be followed: which is not their reproch, but the fault of the tyme, wherein they wrote, whan no kinde of Poetrie, in the Latin tong, was brought to perfection, as doth well appeare in the fragmentes

of Ennius, Cæcilius, and others, and euidentlie in Plautus & Terence, if thies in Latin be compared with right skil, with Homer, Euripides, Aristophanes, and other in Greeke of like sort. Cicero him selfe doth complaine of this vnperfitnes, but more plainly Quintilian, saying, in Comædia maxime claudicamus, et vix leuem consequimur vmbram: and most earnestly of all Horace in Arte Poetica, which he doth namely propter carmen Iambicum, and referreth all good studentes herein to the Imitation of the Greeke tong, saying.

Exemplaria Græca noclurna versate manu, versate diurna. This matter maketh me gladly remember, my sweete tyme spent at Cambrige, and the pleasant talke which I had oft with M. Cheke, and M. Watson, of this fault, not onely in the olde Latin Poets, but also in our new English Rymers at this day. They wished as Virgil and Horace were not wedded to follow the faultes of former fathers (a shrewd mariage in greater matters) but by right Imitation of the perfit Grecias, had brought Poetrie to perfitnesse also in the Latin tong, that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and vnderstand rightfully our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by Gothes and Hunnes, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyd by them: and after caryed into France and Germanie: and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit in deede, but of small learning, and lesse iudgement in that behalfe.

But now, when men know the difference, and haue the examples, both of the best, and of the worst, surelie, to follow rather the Gothes in Ryming, than the Greekes in trew versifiyng, were euen to eate ackornes with swyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread emonges men. In deede, Chauser, Th. Norton, of Bristow, my L. of Surrey, M. Wiat, Th. Phaer, and other Ientlemen, in translating Ouide, Palingenius, and Seneca, haue gonne as farre to their great praise, as the copie they followed could cary them, but, if soch good wittes, and forward diligence, had bene directed to follow the best examples, and not have bene carried by tyme and custome, to content themselues with that barbarous and rude Ryming, emonges their other worthy praises, which they have justly deserved, this had not bene the least, to be counted emonges men of learning and skill, more like vnto the Grecians, than vnto the Gothians, in handling of their verse.

In deed, our English tong, having in vse chiefly, wordes of one syllable which commonly be long, doth not well receive the nature of Carmen Heroicum, bicause dastylus, the aptest foote for that verse, coteining one long & two short, is seldom therefore found in English: and doth also rather stumble than stand vpon Monosyllabis. Quintilian in hys learned Chapiter de Compositione, geueth this lesson de Monosyllabis, before me: and in the same place doth iustlie inuey against all Ryming, that if there be any, who be angrie with me, for

misliking of Ryming, may be angry for company to, with Quintilian also, for the same thing: And yet Quintilian had not so just cause to mislike of it than, as me have at this day.

And although Carmen Exametrum doth rather trotte and hoble, than runne smothly in our English tong, yet I am sure, our English tong will receive carmen Iambicum as naturallie, as either Greke or Latin. But for ignorance, men ca not like, & for idlenes, men will not labor, to cum to any perfitenes at all. For, as the worthic Poetes in Athens and Rome, were more carefull to satisfie the judgement of one learned, than rashe in pleasing the humor of a rude multitude, euen so if men in England now, had the like reuerend regard to learning skill and iudgement, and durst not presume to write, except they came with the like learning, and also did vse like diligence, in searchyng out, not onelie iust measure in euerie meter, as euerie ignorant person may easely do, but also trew quantitie in euery foote and sillable, as onelie the learned shalbe able to do, and as the Grekes and Romanes were wont to do, surelie than rash ignorant heads, which now can easely recken up fourten sillables, and easelie stumble on euery Ryme, either durst not, for lacke of such learnyng: or els would not, in auoyding such labor, be

so busie, as euerie where they be: and shoppes in London should not be so full of lewd and rude rymes, as commonlie they are. But now, the ripest of tong, be readiest to write: And many dayly in setting out bookes and balettes make great shew of blossomes and buddes, in whom is neither, roote of learning, nor frute of wisedome at all. Some that make Chaucer in English and Petrarch in Italian, their Gods in verses, and yet be not able to make trew difference, what is a fault, and what is a iust prayse, in those two worthie wittes, will moch mislike this my writyng. But such men be euen like followers of Chaucer and Petrarke, as one here in England did folow Syr Tho. More: who, being most vnlike vnto him, in wit and learnyng, neuertheles in wearing his gowne awrye vpon the one shoulder, as Syr Tho. More was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke vnto him.

This mislikyng of Ryming, beginneth not now of any newfangle singularitie, but hath bene long misliked of many, and that of men, of greatest learnyng, and deepest iudgemēt. And soch, that defend it, do so, either for lacke of knowledge

what is best, or els of verie enuie, that any should performe that in learnyng, whereunto they, as I sayd before, either for ignorance, can not, or for idlenes will not, labor to attaine vnto.

And you that prayse this Ryming, bicause ye neither haue reason, why to like it, nor can shew learning to defend it, yet I will helpe you, with the authoritie of the oldest and learnedst tyme. In Greee, whan Poetrie was euen at the hiest pitch of perfitnes, one Simmias Rhodius of a certaine singularitie wrote a booke in ryming Greke verses, naming it vòv, conteyning the fable, how Iupiter in likenes of a swan, gat that egge vpon Leda, whereof came Castor, Pollux and faire Elena. This booke was so liked, that it had few to read it, but none to folow it: But was presentlie contemned: and sone after, both Author and booke, so forgotten by men, and consumed by tyme, as scarse the name of either is kept in memorie of learnyng: And the like folie was neuer folowed of any, many hondred yeares after vntill ye Hunnes and Gothians, and other barbarous nations, of ignorance and rude singularitie, did reuiue the same folie agayne.

The noble Lord Th. Earle of Surrey, first of all English men, in traslating the fourth booke of Virgill: The Earle of and Gonsaluo Periz that excellent learned man, Surrey. and Secretarie to kyng Philip of Spaine, in Gonsaluo translating the Vlisses of Homer out of Greke into Spanish, have both, by good indgement, anoyded the fault of Ryming, yet neither of them hath fullie hite perfite and trew versifiyng. In deede, they obserue iust number, and euen feete: but here is the fault, that their feete: be feete without ioyntes, that is to say, not distinct by trew quantitie of sillables: And so, soch feete, be but numme feete: and be, eue as vnfitte for a verse to turne and runne roundly withall, as feete of brasse or wood be vnweeldie to go well withall. And as a foote of wood, is a plaine shew of a manifest maime, euen so feete, in our English versifiing, without quatitie and iountes, be sure signes, that the verse is either, borne deformed, vnnaturall and lame, and so verie vnseemlie to looke vpon, except to men that be gogle eyed the selues.

The spying of this fault now is not the curiositie of English eyes, but euen the good iudgement also of the best that write in these dayes in *Italie*: and namelie of that worthie *Senese Felice Figliucci*, who, writyng *Figliucci*.

vpon Aristotles Ethickes so excellentlie in Italian, as neuer did yet any one in myne opinion either in Greke or Latin, amongest other thynges doth most earnestlie inuey agaynst the rude ryming of verses in that tong: And whan soeuer he expresseth Aristotles preceptes, with any example, out of Homer or Euripides, he translateth them, not after the Rymes of Petrarke, but into soch kinde of perfite verse, with like feete and quantitie of sillables, as he found them before in the Greke tonge: exhortyng earnestlie all the Italian nation, to leaue of their rude barbariousnesse in ryming, and folow diligently the excellent Greke and Latin examples, in trew versifyng.

And you, that be able to vnderstand no more, then ye finde in the *Italian* tong: and neuer went farder than the schole of *Petrarke* and *Ariostus* abroad, or els of *Chaucer* at home though you haue pleasure to wander blindlie still in your foule wrong way, enuie not others, that seeke, as wise men haue done before them, the fairest and rightest way: or els, beside the iust reproch of malice, wisemen shall trewlie iudge, that you do so, as I haue sayd and say yet agayne vnto you, bicause, either, for idlenes ye will not, or for ignorance ye can not, cum by no

better your selfe.

And therfore euen as Virgill and Horace deserue most worthie prayse, that they spying the vnperfitnes in Ennius and Plautus, by trew Imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought Poetrie to the same perfitnes in Latin, as it was in Greke, euen so those, that by the same way would benefite their tong and contrey, deserue rather thankes than disprayse in that behalfe.

And I reioyce, that even poore England prevented Italie, first in spying out, than in seekyng to amend this fault in

learnyng.

And here, for my pleasure I purpose a litle, by the way, to play and sporte with my Master Tully: from whom commonlie I am neuer wont to dissent. He him selfe, for this point of learnyng, in his verses doth halt a litle by his leaue. He could not denie it, if he were aliue, nor those defend hym now that

Tullies saying against England. loue him best. This fault I lay to his charge: bicause once it pleased him, though somwhat merelie, yet oueruncurteslie, to rayle vpon poore England, objecting both, extreme beggerie, and

mere barbariousnes vnto it, writyng thus vnto his frend Atticus:

There is not one scruple of siluer in that whole
Isle, or any one that knoweth either learnyng or letter.

Ad Att.
Lib. iv. Ep.
16.

But now master Cicero, blessed be God, and his sonne Iesu Christ, whom you neuer knew, except it were as it pleased him to lighten you by some shadow, as couertlie in one place ye cofesse saying: Veritatis tantum umbra consectamur, as your Master Plato did before you: blessed be God, I say, that sixten hudred yeare after you were dead and gone, it may trewly be sayd, that for siluer, there is more cumlie plate, in one Citie of England, than is in foure of the proudest Cities in all Italie, and take Rome for one of them. And for learning, beside the knowledge of all learned tongs and liberall sciences, euen your owne bookes Cicero, be as well read, and your excellent eloquence is as well liked and loued, and as trewlie followed in England at this day, as it is now, or euer was, sence your owne tyme, in any place of Italie, either at Arpinum, where ye were borne, or els at Rome where ye were brought vp. And a litle to brag with you Cicero, where you your selfe, by your leaue, halted in some point of learnyng in your owne tong, many in England at this day go streight vp, both in trewe skill, and right doing therein.

This I write, not to reprehend Tullie, whom, aboue all other, I like and loue best, but to excuse Terence, because in his tyme, and a good while after, Poetrie was neuer perfited in Latin, vntill by trew Imitation of the Grecians, it was at length brought to perfection: And also thereby to exhorte the goodlie wittes of England, which apte by nature, & willing by desire, geue the selues to Poetrie, that they, rightly vnderstanding the barbarous bringing in of Rymes, would labor, as Virgil and Horace did in Latin, to make perfit also this point of learning, in our English tong.

And thus much for *Plautus* and *Terence*, for matter, tong, and meter, what is to be followed, and what to be exchewed in them.

After *Plautus* and *Terence*, no writing remayneth vntill *Tullies* tyme, except a fewe short fragmentes of *L. Crassus* excellent wit, here and there recited of *Gicero* for example sake, whereby the louers of learnyng may the more lament the losse of soch a worthie witte.

The second booke teachyng

294

And although the Latin tong did faire blome and blossome in L. Crassus, and M. Antonius, yet in Tullies tyme onely, and in Tullie himselfe chieflie, was the Latin tong fullie ripe, and growne to the hiest pitch of all perfection.

And yet in the same tyme, it began to fade and stoupe, as *Tullie* him selfe, in *Brutus de Claris Oratoribus*, with weeping wordes doth witnesse.

And bicause, emongs them of that tyme, there was some difference, good reason is, that of them of that tyme, should be made right choice also. And yet let the best Ciceronian in Italie read Tullies familiar epistles aduisedly ouer, and I beleue he shall finde small difference, for the Latin tong, either in propriety of wordes or framing of the stile, betwixt Tullie, and As ser. Sulpitius, A. Cecinna, those that write vnto him. M. Cælius, M. et D. Bruti, A. Pollio, L. Plancus, and diuerse other: read the epistles of L. Plancus in x. Lib. Epi. Planci and for an assay, that Epistle namely to the Coss. x. lib. Epist. and whole Senate, the eight Epistle in number, and what could be, eyther more eloquentlie, or more wiselie written, yea by Tullie himselfe, a man may justly doubt. Thies men and Tullie, liued all in one tyme, were like in authoritie, not vnlike in learning and studie, which might be just causes of this their equalitie in writing: And yet surely, they neyther were in deed, nor yet were counted in mens opinions, equall with Tullie in that facultie. And how is the difference hid in his Epistles? verelie, as the cunning of an expert Sea man, in a faire calme fresh Ryuer, doth litle differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein, euen so, in the short cut of a private letter, where, matter is common, wordes easie, and order not moch diverse, small shew of difference can appeare. But where Tullie doth set vp his saile of eloquence, in some broad deep Argument, caried with full tyde and winde, of his witte and learnyng, all other may rather stand and looke after him, than hope to ouertake him, what course so euer he hold, either in faire or foule. Foure men onely whan the Latin tong was full ripe, be left vnto vs, who in that tyme did florish, and did leave to posteritie, the fruite of their witte and learning: Varro, Salust, Cæsar, and Cicero. Whan I say, these foure onely, I am not ignorant, that even in the same tyme, most excellent Poetes, deserving well of the Latin tong, as Lucretius, Cattullus, Virgill and Horace, did write: But, bicause, in this litle booke, I purpose to teach a yong scholer, to go, not to daunce: to speake, not to sing, whan Poetes in deed, namelie Epici and Lyrici, as these be, are fine dauncers, and trime singers, but Oratores and Historici be those cumlie goers, and faire and wise speakers, of whom I wishe my scholer to wayte vpon first, and after in good order, & dew tyme, to be brought forth, to the singing and dauncing schole: And for this consideration, do I name these foure, to be the onelie writers of that tyme.

¶ Varro.

Varro, in his bookes de lingua Latina, et Analogia as these be left mangled and patched vnto vs, doth not enter there in to any great depth of eloquence, but as one caried in a small low vessell him selfe verie nie the common shore, not much vnlike the fisher mē of Rye, and Hering men of Yarmouth. Who deserue by common mens opinion, small commendacion, for any cunning saling at all, yet neuertheles in those bookes of Varro good and necessarie stuffe, for that meane kinde of Argument, be verie well and learnedlie gathered togither.

His bookes of Husbandrie, are moch to be regarded, and diligentlie to be read, not onelie for the proprietie, but also for the plentie of good wordes, in all contrey and husbandmens affaires: which can not

be had, by so good authoritie, out of any other Author, either of so good a tyme, or of so great learning, as out of Varro. And yet bicause, he was fourescore yeare old, whan he wrote those bookes, the forme of his style there compared with Tullies writyng, is but euen the talke of a spent old man: whose wordes commonlie fall out of his mouth, though verie wiselie, yet hardly and coldie, and more heauelie also, than some eares can well beare, except onelie for age, and authorities sake. And perchance, in a rude contrey argument, of purpose and iudgement, he rather vsed, the speach of the contrey, than talke of the Citie.

And so, for matter sake, his wordes sometyme, be somewhat rude: and by the imitation of the elder Cato, old and out of vse:



296 The second booke teachyng

And beyng depe stept in age, by negligence some wordes do so scape & fall from him in those bookes, as be not worth the taking vp, by him, that is carefull to speake or

Cap. 1. write trew Latin, as that sentence in him, Romani, in pace à rusticis alebantur, et in bello ab bis tuebantur.

A good student must be therfore carefull and diligent, to read with iudgement ouer euen those Authors, which did write in the most perfite tyme: and let him not be affrayd to trie them, both in proprietie of wordes, and forme of style, by the touch stone of Casar and Cicero, whose puritie was neuer soiled, no not by the sentence of those, that loued them worst.

All louers of learnyng may sore lament the losse of those bookes of Varro, which he wrote in his yong and lustie yeares, with good leysure, and great learnyng of all partes of Philosophie: of the goodliest arguments, perteyning both to the common wealth, private life of man as the Patient studie of advandic library.

and private life of man, as, de Ratione studij, et educandis liberis, which booke, is oft recited, and moch praysed, in the fragmentes of Nonius, even for authoritie sake. He wrote most diligentlie and largelie, also the whole historie of the state of Rome: the mysteries of their whole Religion: their lawes, customes, and government in peace: their maners, and whole discipline in warre: And this is not my gessing, as one in deed that never saw those bookes, but even, the verie indgement, & playne testimonie of Tullie him selfe, who knew & read those bookes, in these wordes: Tu ætatem Patriæ: Tu descriptiones temporum:

In Acad.
Quest.

Tu sacrorum, tu sacerdotum lura: Tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam: Tu sedem Regionum, locorum, tu omnium diuinarum humanarumg rerū nomina,

genera, officia, causas aperuisti. &c.

The loue

of Var-

roes bookes.

But this great losse of Varro, is a litle recompensed by the happy comming of Dionysius Halicarnassæus to Rome in Augustus dayes: who getting the possession of Varros librarie, out of that treasure house of learning, did leaue vnto vs some frute of Varros witte and diligence, I meane, his goodlie bookes de Antiquitatibus Romanorum. Varro was so estemed for his excellent learnyng, as Tullie him selfe had a reuerence to his indgement in all doutes of learnyng. And Cic. ad Antonius Triumuir, his enemie, and of a contrarie

faction, who had power to kill and bannish whom

he listed, whan Varros name amongest others was brought in a schedule vnto him, to be noted to death, he tooke his penne and wrote his warrant of sauegard with these most goodlie wordes, Viuat Varro vir doctissimus. In later tyme, no man knew better, nor liked and loued more Varros learning, than did S. Augustine, as they do well vnderstand, that have diligentlie read over his learned bookes de Ciuitate Dei: Where he hath this most notable sentēce: Whan I see, how much Varro wrote, I meruell much, that euer he had any leasure to read: and whan I perceive how many thinges he read, I meruell more, that ever he had any leasure to write. &c.

And surelie, if Varros bookes had remained to posteritie, as by Gods prouidence, the most part of Tullies did, than trewlie the Latin tong might have made good comparison with the Greke.

Saluste.

Salust, is a wise and worthy writer: but he requireth a learned Reader, and a right considerer of him. My dearest frend, and best master that euer I had or heard in learning, Syr I. Cheke, soch a man, as if I should liue to see England breed the like againe, I feare, I should live over long, did once giue me a lesson for Salust, which, as I shall neuer forget my selfe, so is it worthy to be remembred of all those, that would cum to perfite iudgement

Salust.

Syr Iohn Chekes iudgement and counsell for readyng of Saluste.

of the Latin tong. He said, that Salust was not verie fitte for yong men, to learne out of him, the puritie of the Latin tong: because, he was not the purest in proprietie of wordes, nor choisest in aptnes of phrases, nor the best in framing of sentences: and therefore is his writing, sayd he neyther plaine for the matter, nor sensible for mens vnderstanding. And what is the cause thereof, Syr, quoth I. Verilie said he, bicause in Salust writing, is more Arte than nature, and more labor than Arte: and in his labor also, to moch toyle, as it were, with an vncontented care to write better than he could, a fault common to very many men. And therefore he doth not expresse the matter lively and naturally with common speach as ye see Xenophon doth in Greeke, but it is carried and driven forth



The second booke teachyng

artificiallie, after to learned a sorte, as Thucydides doth in his orations. And how cummeth it to passe, sayd I, that Cæsar and Ciceroes talke, is so naturall & plaine, and Salust writing so artificiall and darke, whan all they three liued in one tyme? I will freelie tell you my fansie herein, said he: surely, Cæsar and Cicero, beside a singular prerogative of naturall eloquence geuen vnto them by God, both two, by vse of life, were daylie orators emonges the common people, and greatest councellers in the Senate house: and therefore gaue themselues to vse soch speach as the meanest should well vnderstand, and the wisest best allow: following carefullie that good councell of Aristotle, loquendum vt multi, sapiendum vt pauci. Salust was no soch man, neyther for will to goodnes, nor skill by learning: but ill geuen by nature, and made worse by bringing vp, spent the most part of his yougth very misorderly in ryot and lechery. In the company of soch, who, neuer geuing theyr mynde to honest doyng, could neuer inure their tong to wise speaking. But at last cummyng to better yeares, and bying witte at the dearest hand, that is, by long experience of the hurt and shame that commeth of mischeif, moued, by the councell of them that were wise, and caried by the example of soch as were good, first fell to honestie of life, and after to the loue of studie and learning: and so became so new a man, that Cæsar being dictator, made him Pretor in Numidia where he absent from his contrie, and not inured with the common talke of Rome, but shut vp in his studie, and bent wholy to reading; did write the storie of the Romanes. And for the better accomplishing of the same, he red Cato and Piso in Latin for gathering of matter and troth: and Thucydides in Greeke for the order of his storie. and furnishing of his style. Cato (as his tyme required) had more troth for the matter, than eloquence for the style. And so Salust, by gathering troth out of Cato, smelleth moch of the roughnes of his style: euen as a man that eateth garlike for helth, shall cary away with him the sauor of it also, whether he And yet the vse of old wordes is not the greatest will or not. cause of Salustes roughnes and darknesse: There be in Salust some old wordes in deed as patrare bellum, ductare exercitum, well noted by Quintilian, and verie De Ornamuch misliked of him: and supplicium for suppli-

Lib. 8. Cap. 3.

298

catio, a word smellyng of an older store, than the

other two so misliked by Quint: And yet is that word also in Varro, speaking of Oxen thus, boues ad victimas faciunt, at a ad Deorum supplicia: and a few old wordes mo. Read Saluste and Tullie aduisedly together: and in wordes ye shall finde small difference: yea Salust is more geuen to new wordes, than to olde, though som olde writers say the contrarie: as Claritudo for Gloria: exacte for perfecte: Facundia for eloquentia. Thies two last wordes exacte and facundia now in every mans mouth, be neuer (as I do remember) vsed of Tullie, and therefore I thinke they be not good: For surely Tullie speaking every where so moch of the matter of eloquence, would not so precisely haue absteyned from the word Facundia, if it had bene good: that is proper for the tong, & common for mens I could be long, in reciting many soch like, both olde & new wordes in Salust: but in very dede neyther oldnes nor newnesse of wordes maketh the greatest difference The cause why betwixt Salust and Tullie, but first strange phrases Salust is not like Tully. made of good Latin wordes, but framed after the

Greeke tonge, which be neyther choisly borowed of them, nor properly vsed by him: than, a hard composition and crooked framing of his wordes and sentences, as a man would say, English talke placed and framed outlandish like. As for example first in phrases, nimius et animus be two vsed wordes, yet homo nimius animi, is an vnused phrase. Vulgus, et amat, et fieri, be as common and well known wordes as may be in the Latin tong, yet id quod vulgo amat fieri, for solet fieri, is but a strange and grekish kind of writing. Ingens et vires be proper wordes, yet vir ingens virium is an vnproper kinde of speaking and so be likewise,

æger consilij. promptissimus belli. territus animi.

and many soch like phrases in Salust, borowed as I sayd not choisly out of Greeke, and vsed therefore vnproperlie in Latin. Againe, in whole sentences, where the matter is good, the wordes proper and plaine, yet the sense is hard and darke, and namely in his prefaces and orations, wherein he vsed most labor, which fault is likewise in Thucydides in Greeke, of whom Salust hath taken the greatest part of his darkenesse. For



The second booke teachyng

Thucydides likewise wrote his storie, not at home in Grece, but abrode in Italie, and therefore smelleth of a certaine outlandish kinde of talke, strange to them of Athens, and diverse from their writing, that lived in Athens and Grece, and wrote the same tyme that Thucydides did, as Lysias, Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates, the purest and playnest writers, that euer wrote in any tong, and best examples for any man to follow whether he write, Latin, Italian, French, or English. Thucydides also semeth in his writing, not so much benefited by nature, as holpen by Arte, and caried forth by desire, studie, labor, toyle, and ouer great curiositie: who spent xxvii. yeares in writing his eight bookes of his history. Salust likewise wrote out of his contrie, and followed the faultes of Thuc. to

Dionys. Halycar. ad Q. Tub. de Hist. Thuc.

300

moch: and boroweth of him som kinde of writing, which the Latin tong can not well beare, as Casus nominatiuus in diuerse places absolute positus, as in that place of *Iugurth*, speaking de leptitanis, itag ab

imperatore facilè quæ petebant adepti, missæ sunt eð cobortes ligurum quatur. This thing in participles, vsed so oft in Thucyd. and other Greeke authors to, may better be borne with all, but Salust vseth the same more strangelie and boldlie, as in thies wordes, Multis sibi quisq imperium petentibus. I beleue, the best Grammarien in England can scarse give a good reule, why quisg the nominative case, without any verbe, is so thrust vp amongest so many oblique cases. Some man perchance will smile, and laugh to scorne this my writyng, and call it idle curiositie, thus to busie my selfe in pickling about these small pointes of Grammer, not fitte for my age, place and calling, to trifle in: I trust that man, be he neuer so great in authoritie, neuer so wise and learned, either, by other mens iudgement, or his owne opinion, will yet thinke, that he is not greater in England, than Tullie was at Rome, not yet wiser, nor better learned than Tullie was him selfe, who, at the pitch of three score yeares, in the middes of the broyle betwixt Cæsar and Pompeie, whan he knew not, whether to send wife & children, which way to go, where to hide him selfe, yet, in an earnest letter, amongest his earnest councelles for those heuie tymes concerning both Ad Att. the common state of his contrey, and his owne Lib. 7. Epistola. 3. private great affaires he was neither vnmyndfull

nor ashamed to reason at large, and learne gladlie of Atticus,

a lesse point of Grammer than these be, noted of me in Salust, as, whether he should write, ad Piræea, in Piræea, or in Piræeum, or Piræeum sine præpositione: And in those heuie tymes, he was so carefull to know this small point of Grammer, that he addeth these wordes Si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolueris, magna me molestia liberaris. If Tullie, at that age, in that authoritie, in that care for his contrey, in that ieoperdie for him selfe, and extreme necessitie of hys dearest frendes, beyng also the Prince of Eloquence hym selfe, was not ashamed to descend to these low pointes of Grammer, in his owne naturall tong, what should scholers do, yea what should any man do, if he do thinke well doyng, better than ill doyng: And had rather be, perfite than meane, sure than doutefull, to be what he should be, in deed, not seeme what he is not, in opinion. He that maketh perfitnes in the Latin tong his marke, must cume to it by choice & certaine knowledge, not stumble vpon it by chance and doubtfull ignorance: And the right steppes to reach vnto it, be these, linked thus orderlie together, aptnes of nature, loue of learnyng, diligence in right order, constancie with pleasant moderation, and alwayes to learne of them that be best, and so shall you iudge as they that be wisest. And these be those reules, which worthie Master Cheke dyd impart vnto me concernyng Salust, and the right iudgement of the Latin tong.

T Cæsar.

Cæsar for that litle of him, that is left vnto vs, is like the halfe face of a Venus, the other part of the head beyng hidden, the bodie and the rest of the members vnbegon, yet so excellentlie done by Apelles, as all men may stand still to mase and muse vpon it, and no man step forth with any hope to performe the like.

His seuen bookes de bello Gallico, and three de bello Ciuili, be written, so wiselie for the matter, so eloquentlie for the tong, that neither his greatest enemies could euer finde the least note of parcialitie in him (a meruelous wisdome of a man, namely writyng of his owne doynges) nor yet the best iudegers of the Latin tong, nor the most enuious lookers vpon other mes writynges, can say any other, but all things be most perfitelie done by him.



302 The ready way to the Latin tong.

Brutus, Caluus, and Calidius, who found fault with Tullies fulnes in woordes and matter, and that rightlie, for Tullie did both, confesse it, and mend it, yet in Cæsar, they neither did, not easily finds the like or any other fault.

nor could finde the like, or any other fault.

And therfore thus iustlie I may conclude of Cæsar, that where, in all other, the best that euer wrote, in any tyme, or in any tong, in Greke or Latin, I except neither Plato, Demosthenes, nor Tullie, some fault is iustlie noted, in Cæsar onelie, could neuer yet fault be found.

Yet neuertheles, for all this perfite excellencie in him, yet it is but in one member of eloquence, and that but of one side neither, whan we must looke for that example to folow, which hath a perfite head, a whole bodie, forward and backward, armes and legges and all.

FINIS.

